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ABSTRACT

The word "miftan" means "threshold" in Hebrew. The Miftan as an educational framework was conceived in Israel as a response to the needs of marginal male youth who are about to drop out or who have dropped out of the regular school system. Currently 42 Miftanim are operating in that country. This report presents ethnographic data on three Israeli Miftanim--Miftan-Metro, Miftan Center-City, and Miftan-Orangedale. Chapter 1 examines processes by which pupils were referred to the Metro and Center-City Miftanim during 1976-77, and points out that each of these institutions used different approaches to recruitment and thus recruited somewhat different pupils. Chapters 2 through 6 look at Miftan-Metro in detail: aspects of socialization of two boys, the development of a social order independent of the institution's formal ideology, patterns of social relationships among the boys, conflicting approaches taken by different levels of staff (teachers vs. instructors), and problems among staff which hampered the implementation of the philosophy of the Miftan system. Chapters 7 through 9 deal with Miftan-Orangedale, discussing classroom behavior, workshop behavior, and staff relationships. Chapter 10 discusses Miftan Center-City, favorably comparing this institution to the other two. Chapter 11 highlights points of comparisons among the three Miftanim studied and discusses their implications for the Miftan system as a whole. Finally, Chapter 12 briefly reviews the ethnographic findings of this report in relation to more quantitative evaluation findings carried out in another phase of the Miftan research. (GC)

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THE ORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL RELATIONS IN THREE VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS (MIFTANIM) FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL DROP-OUTS

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INTRODUCTION

Miftan is an educational framework for the comprehensive rehabilitation of marginal youth who are about to drop out or who have dropped out of the regular school system. These youngsters have several problems in common: they have difficulties in social relationships, suffer from neglect, are often disturbed, uneducated and even of borderline intelligence. Miftan also accepts youths who are assigned there by court order.

The word "miftan" means "threshold." The Miftan was conceived at a time when mass immigration to Israel from countries with different social and cultural configurations created challenges for the newly established state, and necessitated the adoption of new measures for the effective social absorption of these immigrants. The first Miftan was set up in Jerusalem in 1949. The network now comprises 42 Miftanim, with a total of 130 workshops, all supervised by the Service for Youth Rehabilitation of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

According to the booklet issued by the Service for Youth Rehabilitation, Miftan is defined as "a socio-educational day center within the community." The description continues:

> It caters for school drop-outs in the 12 to 15-year age group who are in serious danger of becoming delinquents or who have already engaged in antisocial activities prior to their referral....The difficulties experienced by parents in adapting to their new western-oriented environment, neglect at home as a result of large and often broken families, and different cultural, social and economic backgrounds are the main causes for failure at school. This

is often followed by truancy, resulting in a more serious social maladjustment to natural and formal group settings.

The miftan's goal, therefore, is to prepare these youngsters to find their place in society and to become better adjusted and productive citizens.

To achieve this goal, great emphasis is placed in the socialization process of each individual, using the varied activities within the miftan as social agents in furthering personal progress, through acknowledgement of achievements made in whatever field of activity in which the youngster participates. By the adoption of an understanding and professional approach to his individual, emotional, intellectual and social needs, it is endeavoured to strengthen self-confidence, self-identification, self-expression and the ego, in order to enable him to handle adequately human relationships and situations in the daily living process.

Local social welfare bureaux, probation officers, aftercare workers for children leaving training schools for delinquents, truant officers and other agencies refer appropriate candidates to the special miftan admission committee. These are maladjusted boys and girls, most of them with manifest behaviour problems. Nearly all are educationally retarded, about half are illiterate and some on the borderline of mental retardation... In all those cases where it is believed that a child is still able to benefit from a universal educational framework, efforts are made in this direction, and the child is not accepted by the miftan.

In 1976, the (then) Ministry of Welfare turned to the NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education to undertake an evaluative study of one of its spheres of activity. Several meetings were held to discuss the possibilities for research, and it was eventually decided to study the Miftan framework. Thus the initiative and funding came from the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. The willingness of the Service for Youth Rehabilitation to cooperate with external researchers must be commended -- it shows a unique concern with improving service. Throughout the course of the study, cooperation with staff and administrators was excellent, and the research could not have been completed without this cooperation.

In the chapters that follow we present ethnographic data on three Miftanim. Most of these data were gathered by the method of participant-observation, an approach widely used in anthropological research because of its relatively unobstrusive nature. This approach requires the comparatively lengthy presence of one or more researchers in the group, population, or place being studied, to observe what people do, how they do it, and what they say about what they do, without directing or restricting their actions and talk in terms of the interests of the observer. The great advantage of participant-observation is that the researcher allows actions and events to unfold naturally, rather than making them happen. In participant-observation, we avoid the strategy of "what if," characteristic of other research methods in social research. Rather than prejudging results, the anthropologist doing participant-observation allows the results to be dictated in large measure by what actually happens in the field situation. Our data reveal the wisdom of this approach in studying Miftanim. The anthropological approach used here stressed the importance, for the reader, of having in hand many of the descriptive materials which we used to understand these Miftanim. As the reader will see shortly, we present numerous excerpts from the daily lives of pupils and staff-members in these institutions, and then we discuss the implications of these materials. Thoroughly immersed in such descriptions, the reader then will be better able to confirm, dispute, or reinterpret our analyses and conclusions. The data on Miftan-Metro were collected by Matat Adar and Ilan Katz, and on Miftan Center-City by Eileen Basker, all during 1976-1977. The data on Miftan-Orangedale were also collected by Eileen Basker, during 1977-1978. Don Handelman was to have participated actively in the collection of data on Miftan-Metro but he was ill for virtually all of that phase of the research. In this report, all names of places, Miftanim, personnel, and pupils, have been changed.

Metro was selected primarily for its location. Although we recognized from the outset that Metro was in no way typical - that it had in fact been branded by the directorate as one of the worst, if not actually the worst, of these institutions - its inclusion in the research was intended to give us maximum return on the budget allocation. In fact, its inclusion had several other advantages: because it demonstrated in any exacerbated form tendencies which were present to some extent in the Miftanim studied by the anthropologists, it provided an object lesson of the outcome of carrying these tendencies to their logical extremes. It thus served to identify the potentially damaging nature of certain faults in the system, and served as a yardstick of how not to organize a Miftan. In that sense we can learn a great deal from Metro.

Center City was also convenient geographically, and this fact played a role in its inclusion. More important, however, was the fact that Center City's principal was frequently cited by the directorate as too strict, too rigid, and overly disciplinarian - in short, not in keeping with the ideology of the Miftan system. We were interested in Center City because it was non-representative just as Metro was, but in a diametrically opposite direction.

Orangedale was included at a later stage, for the directorate agreed that Orangedale exemplified to a large extent what the Miftan system was designed to represent. In that sense it served as the "good" example.

Ethnographically, then, we had a good range of Miftanim: one Miftan which both the directors and the research team agreed was a very bad example of the system; one which the research team saw as having positive aspects but which the directors did not evaluate very highly; and one about which the directors had a positive evaluation but about which the research team had certain reservations. The potential for comparison is thus very wide.

We have divided the report as follows. The first chapter, originally submitted as an interim report, examines the processes by which pupils were referred to the Metro and Center-City Miftanim during 1976-1977, and points out that each of these institutions used different approaches to the recruitment of pupils and recruited somewhat different pupils. The next five chapters look at Miftan-Metro in considerable detail. Chapter two follows the activities of two boys, during two different mornings in Metro. Aspects of their socialization into the life of the school are discussed, and the important distinction between veterans and newcomers is drawn. Here we also discuss the different styles of interaction through which newcomers adapted to Metro, which affected their standing in the social order of the boys there. Our claim is that, because of the frequent indifference, inconsistency, and laxity in the behaviour of staff-members, the social order of the boys was allowed to develop relatively independently of the formal ideology of the institution. We return to this theme in chapter three, where we examine the careers of three boys: two leaders and a loser. Our argument in this chapter is that boys interested in learning were accorded little standing in the social order of the boys, and that staff behaviour reinforced this situation and, in fact, subverted the formal ideology of Miftan. This latter theme is developed more fully in chapter six. In chapter three we distinguish also between the characteristics which marked the behaviour of top and middle-range leadership among the boys.

Chapter four is devoted to an examination of the general patterns of social relationships among the boys. Here we found that there were two major clusters of relationships among the boys: one of veterans and one of newcomers. Moreover, we argue that the behavioural characteristics which marked the cluster of veterans, and which worked against the aims of the Miftan system, were replicated among the developing cluster of newcomers. In effect, the new boys to the school tended to value the negative behaviour of the veteran leaders and, by default, members of the staff were a party to this development. By a similar token, boys who were interested in learning tended to be isolated in their lack of social relationships, and were thus relatively helpless to influence the criteria of ranking and status among the boys. Again, by default, the staff were a party to this development.

In chapter five we discuss the behaviour of pupils and their teacher/instructors in four class-sessions, one workshop session, and one session of a hobby circle. In this chapter we begin to see the particular differences between teachers and instructors, and how the attempts of the former to inculcate values of self-discipline, manners, and work-habits, were often subverted by the behaviour of the latter. Chapter six, the final chapter on Metro, discusses in detail problems among the staff which effectively hampered the implementation of the philosophy of the Miftan system: poor social relationships, the inability to dismiss employees ill-suited to the institution, tasks defined in terms of job specification rather than a well-rounded perception of the "whole boy," an ineffectual division of labour among the staff, important tasks which were defined in terms of additional hours of work rather than the aims of the task, a lack of coordination of tasks and information among staff-members, and the role of the then Ministry of Welfare in the fostering or maintenance of certain of these problems.

The next three chapters deal with Miftan-Orangedale. Chapter seven discusses behaviour in the classrooms of Orangedale, while chapter eight looks at behaviour in the workshops there. In each chapter we try to specify what made this Miftan quite different from that of Metro. This theme is expanded upon in chapter nine, where relationships among staff-members in Orangedale are discussed. Here we focus also on the feasibility of implementing the philosophy of the Miftan system. The following chapter, chapter ten, discusses Miftan Center-City, and found here certain enviable attributes in comparison to the other two Miftanim discussed previously. Chapter eleven closes this report by highlighting certain points of comparison among the three Miftanim, and their implications for the Miftan system as a whole.

We find it very significant that the findings of the ethnographic study parallel quite closely the findings of the study undertaken by the educational psychologists. Despite the great disparity in research tools, both approaches came to similar conclusions: the more well-defined Miftanim functioned better within the ideology of the Miftan system, although this ideology or philosophy is likely to be beyond substantive implementation given the bureaucratic division of labour, task implementation and budgeting procedures of the Miftanim themselves (see our final chapter for a further discussion). The fact that traditional questionnaire and test methods and the anthropological tool of participant-observation came to essentially the same point at the end is not only of methodological significance, but of significance in evaluating the validity of the findings.

CHAPTER 1

The Referral Process: Metro and Center City, 1976-1977

Miftan Metro

1. Demographic Information

16 pupils entered Metro during the academic year 1976-1977. Of these, 6 entered at the beginning of the academic year, during the month of September, while the remaining 10 entered from November 1976 through February 1977.*

13 of these 16 pupils were between the ages of 13-15, in accordance with the usual age limits for children in Miftan: 1 was below the age of thirteen, and 2 others were above the age of 15.

Before their entry, some two-thirds of these pupils were at the correct grade-level of their educational cohort, while one-third had lagged behind one or two grades.

In terms of their ethnicity, all these pupils were of North African or Middle-Eastern background. Approximately one-third of their fathers were self-employed, and about one-third of the parental households subsisted primarily on social welfare payments.

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*During the month of October, while the principal was away from the Miftan, doing his military reserve service, no new pupils were accepted. As well, from Passover, 1977, when the decision was taken, in principle, to close the Miftan at the end of the academic year, no new pupils were accepted, although there were reported to be as many as twenty applications. Of the 10 pupils who entered well after the beginning of the academic year, 3 came in during November, 2 entered during December, 4 came in during January, and 1 during February.

The previous education of these new pupils had been concentrated in five kinds of schools: "state" (mamlakhti), "state/special education," "state/religious" (mamlakhti/dati), "state/religious-special education," and "religious-independent"(dati-atzma'i).* Of the total number of schools attended by these pupils, one-quarter were religious-independent, one-quarter were state/religious, one-seventh were state/religious-special education, one-quarter were state-special education, and only one-fourteenth were state schools. In other words, of all the previous schools these pupils had ever attended, 65% were "religious" schools, of one type or another; 35% were "secular" schools, of one type or another, while some 40% were special-education schools.

In fact, this general pattern of school-affiliation remained quite constant throughout the schooling-careers of these pupils. Of the "first schools," which these pupils had attended, some 70% were "religious;" 30% were "secular" schools; while some 20% were "special-education" schools. In terms of the "last schools" which these pupils had attended before entering Metro, 66% were "religious" schools, of one type or another; 33% were "secular" schools; while 33% were "special-education" schools. In other words, during the schooling careers of these pupils, there was a slight shift in attendance away from "religious" schools, and a slight shift in attendance toward "special education" schools:

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*These exclude mental institutions, boarding schools, and other Miftanim.

but this latter shift, toward "special education" schools, was in fact toward state/religious-special education schools. Since the total number of students is very small, these shifts probably are of no significance.

Thus, the general pattern of schooling stands: a high proportion of pupils attended "religious" schools (state/religious, state/religious-special education, and independent-religious), a low proportion attended "secular" schools (state, state-special education), and there was no important shift toward special-education schools, either "religious" or "secular" during the schooling-careers of these pupils, before they entered Metro.*

If actual transfers of pupils from one school to another, during their schooling-careers, are examined, there is no dominant pattern. Thus, there were an equal number of transfers of pupils between all of the following types of schools: state/religious to state/religious, state/religious to state/religious-special education, state-special education to state-special education, independent-religious to state-special education, state-special education to independent-religious. In addition, there were a smaller number of transfers between the following: state/religious to state, and state/religious-special education to state/religious.

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*Within the category of "religious" schools the proportion of pupils attending independent-religious schools (dati-atzma'i) remains quite high: 35% of the "first schools" which these pupils attended, and 27% of the "last schools," were independent-religious schools.

2. Routes to Metro

(a) The Formal Referral System

In principle, there were three major sources of pupils for Miftan-Metro within the Metro Educational Region: (1) from regular schools (state/relgious, independent-religious), (2) from special-education schools (state, state-religious), and (3) via the Probation Service. Each of these sources is considered in turn.

(1) Formally, the regular school had a "placement committee" which decided on whether a pupil should be transferred, and to where. In practice, the composition of this placement committee varied from school to school, but it was likely to include all, or some, of the following personnel: (a) the school principal or vice-principal, (b) the school educational advisor, (c) the pupil's home-room teacher, (d) the social worker of the Educational Sub-Region (who worked out of a regional municipal welfare office), (e) the school psychologist (who worked out of the regional Psychological Service), (f) the truant officer of the Educational Sub-Region (who was an employee of the regional Department of Education).

Formally, once a decision was taken to transfer a child, the implementation of arranging the technicalities (i.e. paper work, contacting the school or institution which was to receive the child, taking the child there, etc.) fell to that person whose task best described the problem of the child. If the child was a chronic truant, the truant officer dealt with the transfer. Or, the job might be done by the social worker, the educational advisor, or perhaps the psychologist, if the problem of the child lay primarily in their domain. Therefore, any of these four persons, in any given regular school, could have been involved in any given transfer of a child. But, in practice, who actually did the job of transferring the child could well depend on the informal working relationships among these personnel in any given school.

Nevertheless, the decision to transfer a child was that of the school placement committee, and only in exceptional cases was this decision subject to the review of a higher authority.

(2) The transfer of a child to Metro from a special-education school was more complex. Once the special-education school decided to transfer a pupil, the file went to the local Department of Educational Placement Committee, which decided whether the child indeed was to be transferred, and to where.

According to the Chairman of this Placement Committee, it only had the authority to recommend a place of transfer, but it could not require a child to accept this school, institution, or program.*

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*The Committee chairman claimed that it was impossible to send a pupil to Metro without a release (p'tor) from the Compulsory Educational Law. He stated also that the Committee could not obligate a pupil to enter Metro, because this institution "belonged to" the Ministry of Welfare. This appears to be incorrect. Moreover the Principal of Metro stated that this Committee did have the authority to require a pupil to enter Metro. He added that, in the recent past, Miftan had had a representative, a social worker, on this Committee.

Once a decision to transfer a pupil had been taken, by this Committee, the file was given to the truant officer, who then dealt with the child. According to the Committee chairman, the pupil was offered various alternatives: for example, the ORT Khanichim (Apprenticeship) Program (whose starting age was older than that of Miftan), that of ORT Kennedy (if the pupil met their standards), or that of Miftan.

But, a pupil who met neither the age criterion nor the other criteria of alternative programs, and who was still subject to the Compulsory Education Law, would be required by the truant officer to be in an "educational framework." If Miftan was the only alternative open to the pupil, then, de facto, the Committee would have required him in fact to accept Metro.

(3) The third route to Metro was probably the most clear-cut: when the Probation Service decided to transfer a child to Miftan, it had the authority to do so, without the approval of a higher authority.

Formally, all pupils who entered Miftan, with one exception,* were referred there by official personnel. The following kinds of personnel were the formal agents of referral:

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*One pupil, who was over compulsory school age, did not require a referral agent.

	Metro Educational Region	Other Educational Regions*
Schools		
social worker	2	5
truant officer	3	5
teacher	1	
Institutions		
psychologist	1	
Other		
probation officer	1	
family social worker	1	

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* In all 5 referrals from outside the Metro Educational Region, the school social worker and the truant officer worked together.

Of 10 referrals in the Metro Educational Region, 6 were handled formally by school personnel. All referrals from outside this Educational Region were handled formally by school personnel. Since one would expect the school systems of the Metro Educational Region to be the largest providers of pupils to Metro, it was significant that, even formally, school personnel of this Region referred only a comparatively small number (6) of pupils to Metro. Viewed against the total intake (16) of new pupils by Metro, the number provided by the school systems of Metro becomes quite small (viz. 6/16). We will return shortly to this point.

The multiplicity of referral systems, and the variety of personnel who came into contact with the households of pupils, provided fertile grounds for poor lines of communication, and so for bureaucratic mix-ups, in the referral process. One brief example, follows. The pupil's I.Q. was within the normal range, but psychological evaluation found him to be "neurotic." His home-room teacher stated that he lacked concentration, that he was nervous and aggressive, and that he stole. Although the psychologist's recommendation was that he study in a regular school, the teacher stated that the boy disturbed the routine of the class. While the school placement committee was debating his case, a social worker who was dealing with the pupil's household, took him to Metro, where he was accepted. Apparently, the social worker did not inform the school of this move. Therefore, the school reported the pupil truant. Although Metro informed the school of the pupil's whereabouts, the truant officer, who was unaware of the role of the social worker in the referral, reacted by accusing Metro of "stealing" the pupil. Moreover, the truant officer argued that the pupil still had to pass the Placement Committee of the Department of Education, although he had not beein in a special-education school. This the Metro principal correctly rejected. Such a lack of information, or a delay in communicating information, was not restricted to this example, and it resulted in needless inefficiency, while it also reinforced negative stereotypes about Metro which were held by educational personnel. We will touch again on the problem of communication of information.

(b) Metro. The Informal Referral System

An evaluation of the referral system, only in terms of official sources and formal procedures, results in quite a distorted picture of how the 16 pupils reached Metro. In order to further correct the picture of referral presented in the previous section, informal influences on pupils must be considered. Here our information is not complete; but, even so, the depiction of official referral must be altered drastically.

5 of 16 new pupils came from outside the Metro Educational Region. In four of these cases, all the work of introducing the pupil to the idea of Miftan, and of arranging for the referral, was done by official educational personnel. In the fifth case, the pupil heard of Metro from a friend who was already in the institution; and the pupil suggested, to the social worker of his school, that he also be sent there.

11 of 16 new pupils came from within the Metro Educational Region. Of these, 7 knew a good deal about Metro before they were referred there officially; and 5 of these 7 actually took the initiative themselves to be transferred to Metro. The following are these 7 instances:

(i) The pupil had a brother in Metro. He came by himself to the institution, and asked the principal to accept him. Here there was no official referral, since the pupil was already over the age of compulsory schooling.

(ii) The pupil, although formally registered in school, was "on the street" for close to two years. One of his neighbours was in Metro, and this boy told him about the institution. The official referral was done by the school social worker.

(iii) The pupil had a neighbour who studied in Metro, and who told him about the institution. The official referral was done by the truant officer.

(iv) The pupil had a friend who was already in Metro. The pupil suggested to the school social worker that he too be sent there.

(v) The pupil was a neighbour of two Metro pupils, who probably told him of the institution. He was seen hanging about Metro a few times. Finally in contact with Metro personnel, he told them he had been "on the street" for some time, and that he wanted to enter Metro. His school was notified, but apparently no one from there checked on the transfer. Later, the official referral was done by the truant officer.

(vi) The pupil and another boy had been together in a closed institution. The latter then had gone to Metro, while the pupil was transferred to a special-education school. There, he persuaded the psychologist, who was treating him, to send him to Metro. The official referral was done by the psychologist.

(vii) This pupil and another boy, who was already in Metro, lived together in the same foster family. The pupil persuaded the social worker of this family to refer him to Metro. This social worker did the official referral.

Thus, within the Metro Educational Region, in only 6 of 11 cases did official personnel take the initiative in referring pupils to Metro, and only in 4 of 11 cases did official personnel have to do all of the work of introducing the pupil to the idea of Miftan, and of arranging for the referral. Overall, official personnel took the initiative in referring pupils to Metro in 11 of 16 cases, but only in 8 of 16 cases did official personnel have to do all the work of introducing the idea of Miftan to the pupil. Stated only with reference to the Metro Educational Region, official personnel of this Region took the initiative in referring pupils to Miftan in only 6 of 16 cases; and they had to introduce the idea of Miftan to pupils in only 4 of 16 cases. Since the Metro Educational Region was the formal catchment area for Miftan-Metro, one gains the very strong impression that its official personnel, in fact, did very little during 1976-1977 to send pupils to Metro. In fact, were it not for pupils who came from other educational regions, and for informal contacts among the pupils themselves, Metro might have remained comparatively empty during that year.

The complement of this unofficial "boycott" of Miftan-Metro by official referral agents (in particular, by educational ones), was that Metro personnel did little, or were fairly ineffective, in attracting or in initiating the transfer of, pupils to Miftan. To the best of our information, of the sixteen new pupils, only one had attended a "open house" day (yom iyun) held at Metro before the opening of the school year. Thus, although referral agents had been quite inactive in taking the initiative to send pupils to Miftan, the Metro administration itself either had been passive or unsuccessful in attracting new pupils. In this respect, there was little difference between pupils who entered at the beginning of the year, and those who entered during the school year. Of the 5 pupils from the Metro Region who entered at the beginning of the school year, 3 knew of Metro from neighbours and relatives, and one of these 3 came of his own initiative. Although official agents took the referral initiative in 4 of 5 of these cases, in only 2 of 5 of these cases did they have to give the pupil the idea of attending the Miftan. Of the 6 pupils from the Metro Region who entered during the school year, 3 knew of the Miftan, and these 3 themselves took the initiative to attend Metro. So, in only 3 of 6 cases did official agents take the initiative in referral.

It also should be noted here that only in 5 of 16 cases was there the formal need for the approval of the Placement Committee of the Department of Education. In 2 of these cases, the pupil took the initiative to attend Metro; in one case coming by himself, and in the second by persuading the psychologist who was treating him to make the referral.

3. Metro: The Pupils

Of 11 pupils, for whom I.Q. information was available, 5 were evaluated as "borderline normal," 5 were evaluated as "normal," and 1 was considered to be "talented." Although 5 of the 16 pupils were considered to need psychological treatment, in 2 of these cases the recommendation of the psychologist was that they attend a regular school. Most of the 16 pupils were woefully weak in reading, writing, and so forth.

But, even with their academic handicaps, the major blocks against their staying within the regular school system appeared to be behavioural: 6 were considered to be "aggressive" and "violent," beating up other children, throwing rocks at a teacher, and destroying property. 7 were cited for disturbing the regular routine of the classroom. 9 were considered to be chronic truants. In other words, these were, on the whole, boys who were conspicuous either by their presence, or absence. But, as noted earlier, a number of the chronic truants had been out of school, to all intents and purposes, for a year or more, before they came or were brought to Metro. Apparently, these boys were lost sight of by truant officers. For example, one boy lived outside of the Metro Educational Region, but attended a special-education school within it. He was thrown out, after he hurled rocks at a teacher. Since he lived outside the Region, no truant officer followed up the case. He hung about his previous school, outside the Region, for a number of months, before the truant officer there dealt with him.

7 of the 16 boys either had been, or were, under the supervision of a probation officer. In addition, two others were

thought to be "thieves," although they had not come to the attention of the Probation Service.

On the whole, most of these 16 boys were considered to be "behavioural" problems: disruptive, given to violent outbursts, unable to concentrate, restless, and so forth. Either they already were, for all practical purposes, school drop-outs, or they were too disruptive to contain within a regular school framework. In either instance, Miftan was seen as a suitable framework, particularly by the Probation Service.

4. Attitudes Toward Metro

Miftan is commonly thought of as carrying a "stigma," of being an undesirable institution within which to place pupils, and, from the point of view of its pupils, as being an undesirable place within which to work and study. In fact, the label of "stigma" is an over-simplification, which obscures a more complex reality. How Metro was evaluated, will be discussed briefly from the point of view of its pupils, their parents, and referral agents.

(a) The Pupils

Within Metro itself, among themselves, the pupils showed little evidence of feeling stigmatized. But, if we are correct in our conception of the informal referral process among many of the incoming pupils, then there may well have been an important degree of self-selection among these pupils, and a measure of pre-adaptation among them to Metro. This, of course, does not mean that the reasons they gave for accepting Metro were positive, either from the point of view of the Metro administration, or that of the Youth Rehabilitation Division. For example, incoming pupils stated that they accepted Metro because: it was an "easy place;" the studies were "easy;" and it was "easy to come and go," as they pleased. Nonetheless, the fact is that these chronically-truant and often-aggressive youths, in the main, did attend Metro quite regularly, in comparison to their previous educational frameworks.

But, in their home neighbourhoods, these boys were quite sensitive at times to the name of Miftan being raised in front of other neighbourhood youth; and instead more indirect ways were found to mention attendance at Miftan. In one instance, neighbourhood youth were heard to taunt a Metro pupil, by saying that he attended "the university."

(b) The Parents

Our strong impression is that, in general, parents feared the labels which a school, or an institution, placed on their children, rather than being opposed to the content of a particular program which was being implemented there. In other words, having their children labelled as "retarded," as "disturbed," or as "delinquent," worried these parents more than the actual nature of the institution. Again, our impression is that the label of "retarded" was feared the most, and that of "delinquent" the least. For example, some of these parents feared, in particular, one of the special-education schools, which in the past had handled "retarded" children. Two sets of parents at first opposed letting their children attend Metro, because they had heard that it was an institution for "retarded" children.

We should also point out the likelihood of the following: in their previous educational frameworks, these pupils were slow learners, "troublemakers," and chronic truants. Although none formally were defined as "retarded," it is likely that this, and other terms, were loosely applied to them. Their parents then would come to learn, and to expect, that the only institutions which would be prepared to accept their sons would be those which handled "retarded" or "disturbed" children. Therefore the reputation of Metro may have suffered more from what parents came to expect for their children, than it did from the program which it actually offered.*

(c) Referral Agents

With the exception of Probation Service personnel, potential referral agents were quite cool about sending boys to Metro, particularly because of its reputation: but, for these persons, the poor name of Metro related to its reputation for violence among its pupils, and to the fact that many of them had police records. Thus, one truant officer was afraid that boys sent to Metro would be beaten up by pupils there. And a psychologist opposed the request of a boy, to transfer to Metro, because it was full of "criminals" and "disturbed" boys. In other instances, potential referral agents were not prepared to comment on Metro, but the phrasing of their refusal indicated that, had they voiced their comments, these would have been negative. Thus, the principal of one school would state only that: "One institution does not voice criticism of another." For these personnel, and in line with our discussion of 1976-1977 referrals, Metro clearly was a peripheral institution of uncertain, but of negative connocations.

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*In the case of one moshav boy, his parents favoured Miftan because it was located in the Region; for this connoted a measure of "status" to them.

By contrast, probation personnel considered Metro to be a valuable resource, particularly for boys who fell only on the periphery of other frameworks or programs. One member of the Probation Service put it as follows: "I think that only a framework like the Miftan can help them (delinquents referred there), in the sense of being willing to accept them....I know that with respect to us, and to some of the kids, the Miftan is really a salvation. In other words, these kids had to be removed from a boarding school, or were just roaming the streets, and for them Miftan is a needed framework. It's the kind of a framework that makes it possible for (name deleted)...for a boy like that can only be absorbed into a place where the tolerance toward him is high."

Another member of the Probation Service commented about referring boys to Metro: "I have to point out that in contrast to other frameworks, it was excellent: I could bring boys in, I could come and talk, and bring new children. There were no problems. It was very flexible and good...unfortunately, there is no framework like the one Miftan used to be. There just isn't...there are none....I'm talking about something on a lower level than the ORT Apprenticeship (khanikhim) Program."

But, members of the Probation Service agreed that their positive descriptions of Metro held more for the past, than for the present. One commented: "Recently I've had the feeling that the Miftan isn't what it once was." Another added: "Until this year, in my opinion, we had a pretty good framework....But this year the situation is different....It's really a pity. This year there's a real mess....I just saw how the framework was gradually falling apart. And I was very sorry about it, because this was a very important framework for my boys. And I knew that today I would hesitate very much to put boys in there. Seriously."

Other potential referral personnel, like a senior social worker, considered that, in principle, the idea of Miftan was very worthwhile, but that she would hesitate to send boys there because of the inadequate capabilities of the institution's personnel.

5. Metro and Referrals

It is not clear how much effort Metro personnel put into attracting pupils during 1976-1977. But, given the general reputation of Miftan, it is clear that attempting to advertise Metro only through circular letters (to schools or institutions), or through an occasional "open house" day, was not sufficient. When asked how they intended to fill the institution's rolls, Metro personnel tended to reply that, once they worked at it, their "personal connections" would draw in pupils. To us, it appears that the efforts of the pupils themselves had as much to do with attracting others to Metro, as did the efforts of the institution's personnel. Before its closing, Miftan-Metro occupied an extremely peripheral position, in the organization of educational and social services for elementary school drop-outs in the Region. Given the size of the Region's school-age population, and the lack of alternative frameworks for drop-outs, the small number of pupils actually referred to Metro by educational personnel was indicative of its low status.

There are two elementary strategies for organizing referrals to an institution like Miftan: (a) to diversify the bases of referral as much as possible, or (b) to specialize in a particular kind of child, or a type of problem. The advantages of the first strategy is that it casts a wider net over children who are likely to be helped by Miftan, and it increases the likelihood of filling the rolls of the institution. But, this approach requires that institution personnel maintain close and active contact with those of other frameworks and programs, to ensure that Miftan activities are represented accurately and properly. This approach also demands, within the institution itself, that personnel be highly cognizant of the variety of pupils, problems, and difficulties in adjustment and interaction, which this approach to referral is likely to bring about.

The advantages of the second strategy are: that it permits personnel to concentrate on a particular kind of youth and/or problem;that it requires less elaborate contacts with other frameworks to fill the rolls; and that the choice of type of youth and/or problem can be adapted to the local needs of the community, within which the Miftan is located. A conscious strategy of seeking to meet a local need, is more likely to make the Miftan indispensable to the community, over time, instead of the institution becoming a grab-bag of pupils who have to be held in a framework until they are over the age of compulsory education. Keeping a child in a framework, mainly for the sake of meeting the age requirements of the law, is self-defeating, unless more organized attention is paid to what the child can do within this framework.

These questions are likely to become more serious in the future. The Ministry of Education, through a bewildering multiplicity of programs, tries hard to hold children within a formal "educational" framework until they are past the age of compulsory schooling. With the acquisition of facilities of Youth Aliya by the Ministry of Education, its programs probably will be extended to encompass many of those pupils who have become, or are likely to become, drop-outs. If such a trend is accentuated, the question of whether increasingly to specialize the whole Miftan program, or whether to permit particular Miftanim consciously to adapt their services to local community needs, may become more acute. In the Metro Region it is not surprising that personnel of the Probation Service have felt most acutely the deterioration of Miftan-Metro and then its closing - for they appeared to be the only ones who recognized that this Miftan could be of service to a particular kind of youth.

Miftan Center-City

1. Demographic Information

(a) Sources of Children

New pupils in Miftan Center City at the start of the school year 1976-1977 were about equally divided between town and country: about 15 pupils came from Center City elementary schools, and another 15 from neighbouring moshavim. (The numbers are not exact, because some pupils did not stay at Miftan.) Twelve of the new pupils were girls, of whom one dropped out shortly thereafter; the rest were boys.

Thus eleven of the seventeen girls at this Miftan were new this year; all started with the beginning of the school year.

In the carpentry workshop, there were twenty-two boys. Of the 22 in attendance, eight were new at the start of the year, and another three - all city children - came in during the school year.

In the metal workshop, there were twenty-one boys. One more, a moshav boy, dropped out during the year. Ten of the twenty-one were new at the start of the year; another three came in since (around mid-year).

With the exception of two boys and one girl, all of the new pupils on whom we have data were of seventh to ninth grade age: 12-14. The older girl dropped out and returned to the school for special education shortly after the start of the school year.

The city children who came at the start of the school year were mostly (about two-thirds) from regular schools, and one-third from schools for special education, either religious or secular.* All of the referrals during the course of the year (a total of six) were from regular schools.

(b) Routes to Miftan Center-City

For two-thirds of the city children who went to this Miftan at the start of the year, the truant officer of Center City either participated in or was informed of the transfer prior to its occurrence. The remaining third of the new city pupils were transferred by their families, either with or without the cooperation of their schools, and without the knowledge of the truant officer. For example: one girl, hospitalized for psychiatric treatment for a large part of the preceding school year, was in contact with the principal of this Miftan through her family. She and her family arranged for her "absorption" at Miftan, and she informed her former school (the most prestigious in the city) of this arrangement after the fact. However, the school counselor-adviser felt that the arrangement was most suitable for this particular girl. The truant officer, on the other hand, on being informed of the arrangement, expressed her opinion that it was most unsuitable, on the grounds that the girl's capabilities were greater than those of Miftan pupils, and that her psychological problems were such that Miftan would not be good for her.

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*3 pupils came from the religious school for special education, 2 on their own initiative and one on the school's; 3 pupils came from the secular school for special education, all on their own initiative.

Another pupil, a boy, was enrolled in the religious school for special education, and insisted that he wanted to transfer to Miftan. The school counselor-adviser thought it was a bad decision, because the boy had perceptual difficulties which made working with his hands problematic. However, the boy was adamant, his brother was already at this Miftan, and the father was not insistent that he stay in school. The boy transferred to Miftan; two weeks later, according to the counselor-adviser, he requested permission to return to the religious school for special education, and his request was refused. At Miftan, the metalwork instructor reported that he was assisted in his work by his big brother, an arrangement to which the instructor did not object.

In both of these cases, Miftan Center-City may not have been the ideal educational setting for the child; however, from our understanding of the available alternatives, that "ideal" may also not exist elsewhere.

All of the moshav children who attended a regional school went "through channels." The one moshav school from which children came to this Miftan did not know what had happened to its children, because the children had been formally transferred to the religious school for special education in Center City and four children ended up at Miftan, either via the special school or without that way-station.

A child who is referred to Miftan at age 12 to 14 has generally been the subject of discussions and consultations during the course of his school career. For twelve of the fifteen city children who came to Miftan at the start of the year, a file existed in the Center City Department of Education's Psychological Service. Thus the child had either been referred for psychological testing or had been discussed at a school staff meeting in the presence of a psychologist prior to his referral to Miftan. However, in no case do we know that the psychologist recommended referral to Miftan. (It is possible that the Psychological Service does not make recommendations of this kind, limiting its referrals to special schools or organic classes.)

In addition to psychological testing, most of the children who eventually got to Miftan Center-City first passed through some of the special frameworks provided by the educational system for "deviant" children: Kita Tipulit, Kita Mekademet, school for special education, Shi'urei Ezer, etc.*

All of the moshav children who came to Miftan from the regional school followed one route: the school (adviser, teachers, principal) conferred with the truant officer; the truant officer visited the family, and recommended Miftan; the family was encouraged to visit Miftan; the transfer was made through the truant officer. In fact, two children who transferred in this way later left Miftan and returned to the regional school.

The four moshav children from the moshav school had not been referred to Miftan, as has already been noted. They had attended the moshav school's special education class (Kita Mekademet). When this class was closed, the total class enrollment was transferred to the religious school for special education in Center City. Four moshav children went to Miftan Center-City, two directly from the moshav and two after a short sojourn in the special school. The two direct transfers were apparently not mediated by any authority but were the result of family contacts with the Miftan principal.

The city children followed more varied paths to Miftan. About one-third got to Miftan apparently through family contacts:

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*Schools offer different sequences of special educational frameworks, and not all schools offer the same components of the sequence. Therefore generalization here is difficult.

although the schools concerned were aware in each case that the child did not fit into the regular classroom framework, in several (maybe four) cases the initiative for transfer to Miftan came from the child or his family, on the recommendation of relatives who attended/had attended Miftan. One elementary school, the most prestigious in the city, arranged two transfers without the knowledge of the Education Department, on its own initiative.* The remaining two-thirds of the city children were referred with the knowledge and approval of the truant officer of the city.**

At least two of the new children in Miftan Center-City (and one more who started in 1976 and dropped out) had relatives (brother, sister, cousin) then attending this Miftan.

This Miftan held a sort of "open house" (Yom Iyun) for prospective pupils, in late spring the previous year. Candidates and their parents were encouraged to attend, the purpose being (according to the psychologist) to persuade undecided parents that Miftan was in fact the best setting for their children. Some one-third of the new pupils in fact attended this Yom Iyun.

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*One got its stimulus from family contacts. The other was a case of a girl who had moved house and fallen into the jurisdiction of this school only at the start of the current school year. She was not deemed capable of meeting the academic demands of her new school.

**The truant officer knew few of these children personally, because they had never been truant.

An overview of the routes to Miftan Center-City, shows that the psychologist's services were virtually not utilized in making decisions to refer, although psychological records were consulted. (In fact, in at least one case of a child who transferred to this Miftan without the knowledge of the chief psychologist, the same child had previously been transferred to special education, and the psychological service on that occasion also had been informed after the fact. The psychologist interpreted these bureaucratic gaps as due to a lack of manpower and resultant failure of the service to follow up cases, rather than as the fault of the school personnel.)

2. The Children

It is difficult to generalize about the children who came to Miftan during 1976-1977. All those who were tested by psychologists had IQs lower than 90 and above 70; all but two had higher test scores on the "performance" than on the "verbal" part of the Wechsler. But otherwise there is no common denominator: one had a police record; this one and at least two others were chronic truants. The remainder of the pupils had apparently come to school and muddled along, some disturbing and disrupting in class, but most quiet, not any trouble, but not quite able to keep pace with the class. The notations in their records were typified by remarks like "limited comprehension," "limited intellectually," "weak in studies," "immature."

Since the majority of moshav pupils passed through one person's hands, namely, those of the regional council's truant officer, her remarks mirrored their standing in the eyes of the educational establishment of that regional council. Her descriptions tended to include the home environment of the child: "neglect at home" and "no model to follow at home" were remarks she made about several of the moshav pupils. However, these would seem to be her attempts to explain the lack of achievement of specific pupils, rather than the reason they were referred to Miftan, Center-City.

Certainly not even most of the pupils who came to this Miftan during 1976-1977 were trouble-makers in their schools of referral; disruptive or truant children were more than matched by quiet children who sat in class, without participating, but also without disturbing.

In reading through the comments of the psychologist, the truant officers, and the teacher-advisers, one gets a picture of children most of whom were judged too intelligent to be sent to special education, but for whom another two to three years in a regular classroom was seen to be non-productive for the child and for the school. Miftan seemed to be used for children who are considered "culturally disadvantaged," and therefore fall somehow between regular school and special education. In most cases, the anticipated mutual non-productivity was attributed to lack of potential or to some cultural/environmental deprivation. However, in three cases (all girls, coincidentally),* the children, while not officially "new immigrants," had been in the country only a few years; no longer entitled to special consideration as newcomers, they were nonetheless unable to keep up with the language demands of the regular classroom.

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*Two Georgians, one Indian.

3. The Referring Agencies

Along the route to Miftan Center-City, at least the city children, and probably the moshav children as well, had sampled, among them, about all of the alternative programs which the Ministry of Education offered. At least a fifth of the new pupils had repeated a grade in school (including kindergarten). Most had had shi'urei ezer. Several had been transferred from regular schools to either "special education" classes or to schools for special education; several more had been considered for such transfers. Some of the pupils had sampled the Kita Tipulit, the program of Hora'ah Mesaya'at, and other special arrangements (Sha'ot Neshira, Honchut, doing homework in someone else's home in the afternoons). It is worth noting that none of the schools which these children attended had an all-day school program (until 4 p.m. or later), despite the area's being proportionally overloaded with what the Ministry of Education calls "underprivileged children."

It would be difficult to find a common denominator in the attitudes of the counselor-advisers of the various schools toward

Miftan, Center-City. The variety seems large, but at least one thread does emerge: they saw themselves as trying to keep children in school, and referring to Miftan only as a last resort when all of the treatments offered by the school had failed to bring the child to the lowest level of attainment which would enable him to stay in class and progress. One counselor put it this way: For children who were deviant in class socially or academically, who went through the aid frameworks in school without making progress, and were not motivated, Miftan was recommended. Another counselor-adviser said they referred children to Miftan "whose academic accomplishments are not good, but who are 'good' children and talented with their hands." It is clear from the list of schools in the city that no one school had boycotted Miftan; every elementary school but the smallest was represented among 1976-1977 referrals. However, the religious school for special education and the secular school for special education, and especially the latter, felt their facilities* were far superior to those of the Miftan; the secular school for special education's vice-principal said that any of their pupils who moved to Miftan initiated the move themselves.

Despite paying lip service to the idea that Miftan was suited only to children gifted in working with their hands, none of the agencies along the route to this Miftan apparently took it very seriously.

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*For children judged "retarded" by the psychological service.

The unstated assumption seemed to be rather than any child who could not sit and learn in a regular class would be better off working with his hands, and "talent" did not seem to enter the decision.

Children referred by the probation service were conspicuous by their absence. Only one child who entered Miftan during 1976-1977 was known to the police, and he was more a watermelon-thief than a real criminal, according to the adviser at his former school. Although in past years children with police records apparently were sent to Miftan Center-City in hopes that they would fit in, in 1976-1977 this did not happen.* (A possible exception to this generalization was the older boy who entered this Miftan at the end of May; he was referred from another town.)

The city truant officer, who dealt with over 5,000 children of compulsory school age, participated personally in only four of the fifteen city referrals this year; in another six cases she was informed of the referral**. The moshav truant officer, with a school population of about 600, participated actively in all moshav referrals.

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*The children with police records who were sent in the past were accepted only on a trial basis. One lasted a year; all the rest left after a period of weeks or at most a few months.

**The city truant officer maintained that she should be informed routinely of every school transfer not the result of the family's moving residence. However, in five cases during 1976-1977 the information that a child had transferred to Miftan came to her because of our research.

The differences obvious in the attitudes of the two truant officers toward Miftan was probably due at least partially to the moshav problem of having to keep the children in an educational setting for a year longer than the city did. The compulsory education age was 16 for the moshavim in this region and 15 for the city.* This may also explain why the moshav truant officer was apt to see Miftan Center-City as a stop-gap for a year or two before she sent the child elsewhere, while the city truant officer saw this Miftan as the last stop before going on the job market. The city truant officer offered two reasons why delinquents did not go to Miftan: the principal of Miftan did not want the police around his premises, because it gave his Miftan a bad name; and most delinquents were too intelligent to go to Miftan.

The head of the city's Education Department saw Miftan in far more negative terms than did the personnel of the referring agencies: he saw Miftan as suited only for retarded children with no potential for learning, and as a place to keep such children out of mischief until his responsibility terminated when they were 15. However, as far as could be ascertained, he had no direct or indirect part in the referral process.

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*The whole region is listed among settlements which had an additional year of compulsory education for the past 4 yrs. This was designed to be the forerunner of a trend to include the whole country, but was frozen because of economic considerations.

It should be noted here that for 12-year-olds, no other non-elementary-school framework was available for non-learners who were not diagnosed as seriously retarded, dangerous, or seriously mentally disturbed. (It appears that, despite the national directive defining Miftan as a framework for 13-to-15 year olds, it was worth everyone's while to make the "12-year-old exception" the rule in Center City.) Once a child reached age 13-14, one other alternative, the Mercazei No'ar (run by Youth Aliya) opened up. Two Mercazei No'ar (one secular, one religious) served the area; each had about two-and-a-half to three times the enrollment of Miftan Center-City.

Thus Miftan's image in the eyes of the chief psychologist of the Center City was that of a setting good for slower children, especially the quieter ones, who aside from their difficulties in learning did not have any special psychological problems.

The city's social services apparently had no contact with this Miftan at all. The head of youth services for the city saw no difference between Miftan and other special schools; the function now filled by Miftan, according to her, was better filled by the two Mercazei No'ar. In theory, however, she believed that Miftan's function should be to socialize restless children with problems, a function this Miftan did not fill. Perhaps this represented her personal expression of dissatisfaction because her former authority over this Miftan was usurped by other agencies (e.g., truant officer, Ministry social worker). On the other hand, her attitude did not differ drastically from various Ministry of Welfare officials with whom we spoke.

4. Miftan and Referrals

By filling his rolls at the start of the year, through the acceptance of some 15 moshav pupils, the principal of Miftan Center-City was in a position to be very selective regarding later referrals. His motivation in taking the moshav children was not entirely clear, but it appeared that he did so in order to strengthen his position vis-a-vis the Ministry of Welfare and the city Department of Education. He was careful, however, not to turn down any city children at the start of the year on the grounds that he had no space.

Miftan had a psychologist attached to it, drawing a salary from the Ministry of Welfare. The psychologist in actual fact was also employed by the city Department of Education, working for the Ministry of Welfare as an extra job. Formally, the psychologist should have passed on the suitability of all candidates referred to Miftan. In fact, it appears that candidates who looked suitable to the principal were accepted at this Miftan without the psychologist's approval, and only in cases where there was a question of the likelihood of a candidate's lasting at Miftan was the psychologist called in.

City children apparently had a wider selection of educational settings from which to choose than do moshav children, because the schools for special education, the "organic" classes, etc., gave first priority to city children and were often obligated to turn down moshav referrals due to lack of space. Thus the moshav dependence on this Miftan to help solve problems which the regional school system could not handle was complemented by the Miftan's dependence on the moshavim to fill the rolls without having to resort to delinquents or seriously disturbed children.

Although the city truant officer remained in formal contact with this Miftan and attended staff meetings, in fact her specific professional services as "truant officer" were rarely utilized by Miftan. Miftan Center-City itself followed up all absences of more than one day, with home visits by staff members. In only one case was a Miftan pupil actually "truant" during 1976-1977 for a period of several weeks, necessitating the intervention of the truant officer. This boy eventually returned to Miftan, after trying out a Ministry of Labour trade school.

Over the past several years, until 1976-1977, Miftan Center-City had been seriously short of girl pupils, to the point where there was some talk of closing the sewing workshop completely. According to the psychologist and the truant officer, girls, because they usually became "invisible" (by helping at home rather than becoming delinquent) when they dropped out of school before age 15, were less apt to attract the attention of the authorities and thereby get forced to stay in some sort of educational institution. The shortage of girls at this Miftan was solved through moshav referrals, and the girls' workshop had an enrollment of seventeen during 1976-1977. Here, again, the benefits were mutual: with the Miftan available as an alternative to the moshav girls, they were not as apt to be kept at home to help out rather than going to school; and their enrollment in this Miftan gave the principal more freedom to maintain that his was a regional rather than a local institution, as well as giving him a full roll and the privilege of turning down referrals he saw as unsuitable.

5. Summary: Formal and Informal Contacts

Children were referred to Miftan Center-City by personal/family contacts; by truant officers, both city and regional; and by counselor-advisers and elementary school principals in the city. Children were not being referred to this Miftan by the city welfare services or the probation service (which also belonged to the welfare authority).

Drop-outs during the course of the school year appeared unrelated to referring agencies.

When a potential Miftan pupil reached age 12, the referring authorities had to make a decision whether to send him to this Miftan or to keep him in elementary school an additional year and then refer him to a Mercaz No'ar. The referring agencies preferred Miftan over Mercazei No'ar for children for whom they thought a smaller, more protected institution was suitable, and for children who needed more individual attention than Mercazei No'ar could provide. Children with serious psychological problems did not seem to get to this Miftan. Children with records as delinquents also did not get to this Miftan during 1976-1977.

Summary: Center City and Metro

In this section we briefly draw a number of comparisons between the Miftanim of Center City and Metro. On the one hand, such comparisons can only be limited, since the two locations differ greatly in size, in the structure of educational systems and social services, and in the capacity of the Miftanim themselves, to absorb pupils. Nonetheless, such a comparison is instructive, for it points to diverse ways of organizing a Miftan.

(a) Center City

(i) This Miftan practiced a deliberate strategy of diversifying the bases for the recruitment of students. In doing so, certain sources of referral were cultivated, while others largely were ignored.

(ii) This Miftan received good cooperation from those educational frameworks which it cultivated. Other frameworks or agencies were lackadaisical about the institution.

(iii) This Miftan tended to select, in cooperation with the educational frameworks which it cultivated, for a certain type of student - slow learners and relatively non-disruptive and quiet pupils. Nonetheless, these pupils were still being ejected from the regular school system, and were in need of an alternative framework. In other words, knowingly or not, this Miftan appeared to have specialized in a particular type of clientele.

(iv) Since there did seem to be an element of deliberation in selecting for a particular type of clientele, the staff of this Miftan was quite well-prepared to handle the pupils which it received.

(v) This Miftan appeared to represent a particular kind of adaptation to local community needs. But, of course, because it conceived of its function in this way, it could not cater to other needs of the local community.

(b) Metro

(i) This Miftan, to a lesser degree, also diversified its bases for the recruitment of pupils. But this diversification appeared to be the result of an ad hoc search to fill the rolls of the institution.

(ii) Since no referral agencies were cultivated in an active and deliberate way, these agencies (with the possible exception of the Probation Service) were largely negative or neutral toward the institution, and offered it little cooperation in the referral process. Being more passive, this Miftan was forced to accept whichever pupils come its way, to fill its rolls.

(iii) Therefore, this Miftan hardly selected its pupils. In fact, its ad hoc selection would appear to have been controlled, to an important degree, by the networks of social contacts of its pupils. This also resulted in a measure of selection, but not necessarily one which was controlled by, or was compatible with, the aims and composition of the institution.

(iv) Because of this ad hoc process of recruitment, it was questionable whether the staff of this Miftan was prepared for the kinds of pupils which it received.

(v) Because this Miftan cultivated neither particular educational or other frameworks, nor a particular kind of pupil clientele, it remained a peripheral institution.

CHAPTER 2

Aspects of the Daily Life of Pupils in Miftan-Metro: Two Mornings

In this section the reader is plunged straight away into the daily life of pupils in Miftan-Metro, through the examples of two of their number, Marco and Jojo. In each of these instances, the behaviour and activity of the boy is the focus of our description. As well, our unit of description in each case is a morning of activities; and we follow Marco, and then Jojo, through two such separate time-periods. Along the way, certain issues and problems are raised, which will be explored further on. Our intention here is to give the reader a sense of the content and quality of daily life in Miftan-Metro, without drawing further conclusions at this point. Although Marco and Jojo are the foci of our description, other boys and staff-members appear, to add their contributions to the making of two mornings in Miftan-Metro for these two boys.

(a) A Morning With Marco

Marco, aged 12, entered Metro some four months before, at the beginning of the school year. Slight of build, and physically weak in comparison to many of the other boys, he was once described by his teacher, Simcha, as a "baby bird". He began that morning in the carpentry workshop run by the instructor Amos, a middle-aged and portly man. Also present in the shop were Hodi and Ronnie, two "veterans" who entered Metro during the previous school year, as well as Shimmie and Yossi. The latter really was a newcomer: although he had entered Metro some two months previously, he had been present only rarely.

Marco and Yossi worked at the same table, Marco making a chair and Yossi concentrating on a simple introductory exercise. On the table in front of Yossi, as a model, was Marco's work of four months before. That morning, Marco had to drill holes in the legs of his chair. But the chair-legs lay untouched on the table, while Marco flitted about the shop. Finally, he came around to Yossi who was having difficulty with his exercise, and took the tool from the latter's hand. Yossi objected that he did not want anyone else to do his job, and he snatched the tool away from Marco.

Marco still did not return to his work. Instead, he pretended he was playing an imaginary electric-guitar, shaking his body and producing twanging sounds from between his lips. Then he decided to inscribe his name, using a piece of sharpened metal, on his tape-measure. In doing so, he twisted out-of-shape a metal end-piece on the tape. He took it to the instructor, Amos, who sat reading on the other side of the room. Amos told Marco that he could either pay IL 15 for a new tape-measure or that he could bring his own. Marco reacted angrily and loudly, shouting: "Why do I have to pay 15 lirot for such a small piece of metal? I won't pay. All the Miftan wants is our money! I won't even pay one agura." Ronnie, one of the two "veterans" in the shop, told him: "Don't be hysterical.

I'll fix it for you." He straightened the bent piece with a hammer, and called out to Amos that it was repaired. Amos, engrossed in his book, did not reply. Marco then asked Ronnie to drill the holes in the chair-legs the former was supposed to be working on; and Ronnie told Marco to take over the task he had been doing, sawing wood.

Meanwhile, Hodi, the other "veteran" pupil present, went over to look at Yossi's work and, disatisfied with what he saw, took the tool from Yossi's hand and began to show him how to work. Again Yossi objected, but Hodi persisted until Yossi called out to Amos. Although Amos hardly responded, Hodi desisted, saying: "Remember, I wanted to help you, but you don't want me to, so I don't care if you spoil what you're doing." Although Yossi had been able to resist the relative "newcomer" Marco by himself, faced with the veteran Hodi, he called to the instructor Amos for aid.

Together, Ronnie and Marco began to laugh at, and to make fun of, the way Yossi worked. Yossi did not react. He appeared timid, his expression set in a mixture of fright and antagonism. He stared at his piece of wood, not looking at anyone else, and seldom raising his head.

Ronnie, the veteran, started to bait Yossi, saying: "When'll you bring your brother's friends to my place to beat me up?" Yossi replied, "Don't worry, I'll bring them. But I know your friends will help you beat them up." Ronnie asked, "Then why didn't they come to the square that day we talked? I waited and they didn't show." Yossi replied, "They came, but you weren't there." Marco called out, "Ronnie wants to beat him up because Yossi doesn't answer him, and because Yossi called him a 'donkey'." Yossi replied, "Now you're lying, you're just trying to 'heat up' the quarrel." Ronnie replied heatedly, "I want to see if they can beat me up. All my friends there'll show them. Analek'll come with his huge body and his huge hands and he'll catch one of them. He's a real guy."

By now the lesson was ending, and Amos told the boys to put away their tools and pieces of wood, each in his own cupboard. Marco tossed a tool on top of his cupboard with an elegant throwing motion, calling out, "And here you see the world champion...."

Breakfast followed the workshop lesson, and in turn was followed by a twenty-minute recess. Various of the boys, Marco among them, played pool or ping-pong in the recreation area, separated by a partition from the dining area. Marco lost at ping-pong, and reacted by angrily hurling his racket on the table, stamping on the floor, and cursing: "Screw this game, who in hell needs to play anyway." One of the "veterans," whose turn it was to play, told him: "Why? You should lose like a man!" Marco appeared startled, and responded quickly with, "Up your mother!". Instantly, they were at one another, fighting fiercely. Three other veterans, Charlie, Coco, and Chico, who were standing nearby, interfered physically and tried to break them apart. Peres, a veteran, and Jojo, a newcomer, who were sitting on a bench, called out: "Stop it! Stop it!", but didn't interfere. The three veterans pushed Marco to the side, and forced him to sit on the bench, between Peres and Jojo.

Peres asked Marco: "Why're you always fighting? Every day you're fighting with somebody here." Angry again, Marco grabbed Peres and they wrestled on the floor. "You're a baby for me," Peres said laughingly. "I should smash your head in, but what'll I do if you die in my hands?" In fact, Peres was no stronger than Marco, and his taunts made Marco furious - he fought with quick and nervous movements. Jojo, still sitting on the bench, pretended to cry hysterically, and screamed in a whining falsetto, "Stop!" Again, the veteran Coco broke the combatants apart, and pushed them down on the bench. Peres continued to whisper to Marco: "Ah, you're so nervous, you always fight with kids, could I give it to you...." Marco did not react and watched the ping-pong game. Peres kept whispering into his ear. The observer asked Peres why he behaved in such an inflammatory manner, and he answered, with a grin: "I want to heat up a fight. I like fights."

The bell rang, signalling a return to classes and to workshops. Yekheskel, a teacher who was also the educational-advisor, came in and sent the boys to their activities. He told Marco to return to Amos' workshop because Simkha, Marco's teacher, had not come that day. Marco refused, and Yekheskal went off to teach his own class, leaving the boy in the games area. Marco went upstairs. Yekheskal spotted him and shouted at him to return to the workshop. Marco shouted back: "I won't go. I'm tired." Marco repeated stubbornly: "I won't go." Yekheskal returned to his class; and Marco wandered into the secretary's office. The secretary also told him to go to work, but Marco paid no attention. He watched the secretary work with a pocket calculator.

Marco made as if to push a button on the calculator. He had almost touched it when the secretary shouted: "You get out of here, you hear! Or I'll throw you out. I'll roll you down the stairs!" Marco left, went downstairs, and entered the empty games area. He muttered quietly, "Miftan is shitty," and went out into the street. He looked around, fiddled with some stones, and then went to Amos' workshop.

There were two other boys there, Peres, and Motti, a newcomer. Marco asked Amos to instruct him how to continue making the chair he had been working on earlier that morning. After a few words, Amos returned to his reading. Marco worked poorly, with speed, and failed to cut the wood properly. On three occasions, Motti came over and helped him. Amos paid no attention to Marco's problems with the saw.

Some minutes before the break for lunch, Amos told the boys to clean up. It was Marco's turn to sweep the floor, and he worked for about ten minutes, a small boy with a tall broom, breathing heavily. Then he asked Amos to tell Peres to help him, which he did. Peres worked very slowly, abstaining often. Marco complained to Amos: "Amos, he's not working, he's only playing." Charlie, and a few other boys from the other carpentry shop on their way to lunch, passed by. Charlie heard Marco complain and came in and kicked him. Marco struck Charlie back, but the latter was the stronger, and he continued to whale away at Marco. From the sideline Peres called out: "Marco, give it to him!...Charlie give it to him!" The observer asked Peres why he supported both sides, and Peres replied: "I like to see fights, I like to see how Charlie beats up Marco."

Charlie finished hitting Marco, and went on to the dining area. Amos told Marco to finish cleaning up, and told Peres to help him. When they finished, the boys went to lunch.

The following points of interest emerge from the preceding description. (a) Two newcomers to Metro, Yossi and Marco, are contrasted with one another. Yossi, the newer of the two, is subdued and appears to be relatively uncertain, timid, and defensive. He only talks about bringing his big brother's friends to beat up the veteran Ronnie and his friends, but has refrained from implementing this. Ronnie baits him about this, and Yossi admits that his brother's friends would be beaten up in such an encounter. The veteran Hodi tries to show Yossi how to work properly, and Yossi finds it hard to resist Hodi, turning finally to the instructor, Amos, for help. Ronnie, joined by Marco,makes fun of the way Yossi works. In various ways - mockery, taunting, and ridicule - Yossi is being taught to accept the direction and the superiority of more veteran pupils. As long as he accedes, as long as he is comparatively submissive, his status among the boys will remain low. But, he appears to be going through a phase which is essential to the socialization of boys into Metro. (b) Marco, a less recent newcomer than Yossi, behaves very differently. He encourages interaction with more veteran boys, and lets Ronnie fix his tape-measure and then work on his chair. Moreover, he is aggressive, is quick to offer provocation, and is quick to respond with his fists. During this morning he is involved in three fights, all with more veteran pupils. In one of these instances, he provokes a fight with an insult, and in the other two he reacts to taunts and to a kick. In each case he is subdued by his more veteran antagonists; but, he appears ready to fight again, after a respite.

Marco also behaves in an independent manner toward those members of the staff with whom he comes into contact. He is angered visibly by Amos' contention that he will have to bring IL 15 to replace the tape-measure. He rejects Yekheskel's demand that he return to Amos' workshop after breakfast. And he dares to try to fiddle with the secretary's calculator.

Marco's behaviour during this morning exemplifies an important principle among the boys of Metro: to be respected, to have status, a boy must be ready to fight at any provocation. If he does not fight, then he is relegated to the bottom rungs of the status system of the boys. If he fights, but is beaten consistently, then he still is a competitor, one who is worthy of a degree of respect from other of the pupils. If Yossi hardly has entered the status system of the boys, then Marco is in a more advanced phase. Although he is small, and is still physically weak, he is prepared to offer provocation and to fight, instead of to talk or to back off in other ways.

(c) The more veteran boys, those who entered Metro in the previous year and who tend to be one to two years older than the newcomers, try and often succeed to control the behaviour of the latter. Yossi is taunted and is ridiculed by Ronnie. One of Marco's fights begins when a veteran tells him to lose at ping-pong "like a man." Two of his fights are broken up by veterans, who decide when and how to intervene. After the second he is forced to endure the continuing taunts of the veteran Peres, because on this occasion he has been proven too weak to oppose the former physically. The boys continuously demonstrate their approximate location in the status-order by trying to control one another's behaviour. Often this takes the form of "punch-ups."

Perhaps of greater significance is that, to an important extent, this status system operates quite independently of the formal system of adult authority in this Miftan. In large measure, the status system is the creation of the boys themselves, they are socialized into it, and it probably is passed on from cohort to cohort, through the years. The formal authority system supports this status-order, in part actively and in part by default. We will return to this subject further on. The important point here is that the social order of the boys is very much under their own control, and that newcomers are socialized into this order in ways that the veteran pupils think are important. (d) The members of the staff, who appear during the description of Marco's morning, are fairly indifferent to what the boys are doing. Amos, the carpentry instructor, spends little time with the boys in his shop. Perhaps to complement this, the boys help one another with their work. Amos appears indifferent to Marco's goofing off, and the boy flits around as he chooses. In Marco's third fight of the morning, with Charlie, Amos although present does not intervene. He behaves as if this is a matter for the boys to settle among themselves.

Yekheskel, the teacher-advisor, shouts at Marco to return to the workshop after recess; but, when the boy is steadfast, Yekheskel does not press and goes off to teach his own class. The secretary is unconcerned that Marco is wandering about during study hours - his worry is that the boy will foul up his calculator. His expression of this is to threaten Marco with violence, to throw him down the stairs. In consequence, Marco is left to his own devices, and is free to wander around the school as well as outside its premises. In this example, Marco's freedom to do whatever he pleases is not the product of a value of permissiveness - instead, no adult who meets him is prepared either to compel him to adhere to the schedule of the school or to try to discover why he rejects this.

Some of these points will become clearer through our description of a second morning in Miftan-Metro, with Jojo.

(b) A Morning With Jojo

Jojo began his morning in Hosea's carpentry workshop. Also present there were Charlie and Khemed, both veterans, and a newcomer, Seeds-Seeds (nicknamed after his father's sunflower-seed and nut stall).

Hosea put Seeds-Seeds to work at Jojo's table, over the latter's objections, and patiently explained to the new pupil what he should do.

Jojo was making a wooden tool-box. He had brought the wood from home and, in fact, had done much of the work on the box there, bringing it to Metro when it was almost completed. He asked Hosea if it was nice work. Hosea answered laconically: "It could be nicer." Jojo asked bitterly: "Why aren't you ever satisfied with what I do? You always say it's not so good!" Hosea replied softly: "Look. How long have you been here? Eh? Two months ago you didn't know how to do anything, Boaz (a veteran) has been studying here already for a whole year! You're also progressing."

Charlie was putting together a bench. He complained strongly about the afternoon hobby circles which had begun to function the previous month, in January. He added, in an ironic tone: "Ask Khemed. He'll tell how much he loves it. He stays here even on his free afternoon because he loves it here so much." Khemed broke in: "The principal wants us to stay here until 4 so that we won't steal. What does he think, that we can't steal after 4? We can steal after 4 pretty well." They began a sword-fight with two sharpened sticks.

Khemed noticed that Jojo's bus ticket was sticking out of his pocket, and called to Hosea: "Look at how he hangs onto his ticket - half of it's outside". He added to Jojo: "And then you come crying that 'They stole my ticket'." Jojo pushed the ticket back into his pocket without speaking. Charlie turned to the new boy, Seeds-Seeds: "You know? They don't steal anything here; nothing'll be stolen from you here." Seeds lowered his eyes.

Hosea said to Seeds: "Three years ago Charlie was like you - shy. Didn't even know how to use a plate. The boys beat him up and he cried." Charlie added: "That was then. But now who beats and who cries? Now I beat and somebody else cries." He turned to Jojo and Seeds: "It's like this in the Miftan. In your first year you get beaten up. Then in your second year they stop beating you. Isn't it so, Jojo?" Charlie, who was much taller than Jojo, grabbed him in a headlock and applied pressure. Jojo called out three times to Charlie, "Leave me alone, leave me alone." But he muttered this quietly, and did not try to free himself until Charlie was ready to release him. Charlie added: "I grew up here; it's my home here."

A few weeks later, during a conversation with Charlie, the observer asked him how he thought about relationships between the bigger boys (usually veterans) and the smaller ones (usually newcomers) in Miftan-Metro. His remarks then were germane to what had just occurred in Hosea's workshop. Here is the observer's summary of this part of that conversation:

> "In his opinion, the big boys should be given the tasks of policemen. He didn't say it in these words, but this is what he meant. Tasks of policemen, they have to control disturbance, they have to be responsible for all kinds of things, they have to lead the smaller boys. Because, if the big boys get such tasks, they won't bother the smaller ones. They'll the ones who keep order, not the ones who

> disturb it. He said that when the big boys don't get tasks like these, they control the smaller ones by force and subdue them....
>
> So we started to talk about leadership. What is a physically-strong leader and a brainy leader. These terms, of "brains" and "brawn" (mo'akh v'koakh), were terms that he used. He said the big ones are stronger than the smaller ones, but it isn't just a matter of brawn, but also of brains. I asked him what they did by using brains, and he said all kinds of things, like planning programs and the like. So I asked him why, if they use brains, do they have to use brawn? He said that, against the smaller ones, they must use force. Against the big ones, the staff, they need brains. I asked him what they did against the big ones. So he says, for example, they ask for money. They tell them (the staff) all kinds of stories, and then they get money from the staff. And also other things. I asked him what the other things were. This he wouldn't tell me.
>
> I asked him who, among the boys, should get tasks of control. He said, himself, Snake, Lulu, and Chico."

As we will discuss further on, Charlie's principles of social control (and their implications for socialization) were supported, in part, by the staff, particularly by the principal. But there is a fine distinction between the allocation of authority in order to encourage its recipients to behave responsibly, and the issuing of a license to use force according to the dictates of the recipient. In part, this distinction depends on the extent to which the staff continues to oversee those boys who are given, or who are permitted to assume, power over others. The question is then, whether certain of the veterans were encouraged to exercise power over the other boys in order to teach responsibility to the former, or whether (in practice, if not in theory) this became a convenient mode of social control for the staff, which allowed them to attend to other matters.

Were the boys, mentioned by Charlie, exercising a degree of delegated authority when they controlled other boys, or were they given additional means to strengthen their positions within the informal social order of the pupils, because members of the staff were less prepared to exercise their own functions of authority and of social control?

The secretary, Dan, came into the shop, saying that he had nothing to do upstairs. Charlie approached him, saying: "Dan, I want you to be the principal here instead of Shlomo." Dan responded with, "Yes?" Charlie replied, "Yes, really!" Hosea laughed. Charlie grabbed one of Dan's hands and clapped him on the shoulders, in a friendly way. Dan smiled, but pushed Charlie away. Charlie responded: "But why? I'm telling you something good!" Dan replied in an angry tone: "Enough of this! Enough!" He left soon after.

A few minutes before the end of the period, Hosea told the boys to put away their tools and material, and to clean up. Jojo's box was nearly done. Charlie had helped him to fill the cracks with wood-filler. The box did not fit into Jojo's cupboard, so Hosea told him to place it on top. "I'll never put things there," muttered Jojo, "because they steal everything here," but he did so.

On the way to the dining area, Jojo met Motti, who said something about Hosea. Jojo responded: "So why do all of you want to leave Amos and come over to Hosea's workshop?" Motti replied: "Do I want to come over to Hosea's? I'll never do it!" Jojo commented: "Everybody knows that Amos sits there like an old woman and doesn't leave his chair, while Hosea shows us what to do."

After breakfast, during recess, Jojo played ping-pong with Shimmie, Yossi, and Midget, all newcomers. Jojo, who was not a skilled player and therefore whose turn to play came infrequently, often kept score. Occasionally he wandered over to the pool table to watch Charlie, Coco, and Dudu, all veterans, play.

Seeds-Seeds, a very recent newcomer, entered and watched the veterans play. He picked up the basket used to hold the balls not in play. When the veterans finished using a particular ball they gave it to him, and he put it into the basket. He looked very serious. His eyes followed the balls on the table, and he was prepared to take a ball before one of the players handed it to him. He did not utter a word.

Coco prevented Dudu from taking his turn at the game. Dudu took one of the balls away and hid it. Coco asked Charlie to tell Dudu to return the ball, so that they could continue with the game. Charlie told Dudu to give him the ball, and Dudu complied.

Arye, a very recent newcomer, heavy-set with a hard look on his face, came in and went over to the pool table, where the three veterans were playing. He called out: "Guys, when's my turn?" None of the three glanced at him. Arye repeated his question, more loudly. Again, none of the three responded in any way. A few minutes later the game broke up, and the three left the area. Arye began to play by himself. Hosea passed through, and Arye complained to him that one ball was missing, but he did not know the name of the boy who took it. When the three veterans returned, Arye pointed out Coco to Hosea. Hosea asked Coco if he had taken the ball, and Coco appeared startled. Hosea repeated his question. Then Arye laughed, and produced the ball from his own pocket. Hosea told him to button his shirt, adding: "We don't want to see your fat belly." Arye hugged Hosea and told him, "Hosea, I love you." His grip turned into a bear-hug as he began to squeeze Hosea tightly. There was a wide smile on Arye's face. Hosea began to struggle to free himself, and Arye continued to tighten his hold. Hosea's cheeks turned red with exertion. He said in a firm tone, "Arye! Enough!," and he finally struggled free. At this point the bell rang, and Hosea left the room without a word.

Although they should have gone to their lessons, Coco and Jojo stayed and played ping-pong. No member of staff appeared to send them away. Yossi joined them, and watched. Coco and Jojo left after some ten minutes, and Yossi remained behind, playing with himself, saying that he needed the practice.

Although he should have gone to class, Jojo returned to Hosea's workshop. Hosea was there with Seeds-Seeds, a recent newcomer. Hosea sent Jojo to class. Jojo remonstrated, but took his box and left for class. When he entered the teacher said nothing about his coming late.

The class did exercises in arithmetic, drawing circles and the like. Jojo complained that no one helped him. The teacher, Sasson, replied: "Who needs help? Only the weak pupils." Jojo sulked. Sasson asked the class a question in mathematics. Only Khemed, a veteran, answered correctly. Sasson said to the class: "Here's a boy with a good foundation." Khemed looked proud and responded: "You think I don't know these exercises? It's very easy." Other than answering the question, Khemed did nothing during the lesson, except to take Jojo's eraser and to hide his pencil. Once he stood on a table and looked out the window, until Sasson told him to get down. When Jojo tried to draw a circle, Khemed shook his desk so that he could not continue.

Jojo put his copybook aside, and started to sandpaper his box, muttering that this was preferable to studying. Sasson came over and told him to put the box aside, "or else I'll throw it out the window." Jojo put the box away, but did no work until the bell rang.

The following points should be noted in the above segment.

(a) Jojo, in contrast to Marco's behaviour during the previous morning, is not aggressive. Jojo appears oriented to work, particularly in Hosea's carpentry shop. He looks for approval from Hosea, and laments Hosea's lack of appreciation of his endeavours. Jojo is ambitious: he works at home on his tool-box, so that he can be thought of as advancing more quickly in his work-lessons in Metro. When Charlie grabs him in a headlock, he does not struggle and remains passive. During recess he plays with other newcomers, as the veterans engage in their own game.

(b) Seeds, a recent newcomer like Yossi of the previous morning, is timid, cautious, and withdrawn, like the latter. During recess, without being asked, he quietly serves the veterans who are playing pool, collecting the balls that are not in use.

(c) Arye is also a recent newcomer but, perhaps in part because he is older and more physically powerful than Yossi or Seeds, he has a radically different style of interaction than either of them. At recess he demands his turn at pool from the veternas. After he is rebuffed, he plays his little trick on Coco, by pretending that the latter has taken a ball, and by getting Hosea to act for him. When Hosea rebukes him, Arye gets the middle-aged instructor in a bear-hug, and squeezes him uncomfortably. Arye treats Hosea's attempts to free himself as playful, but the ulterior meaning of what he is doing is serious for all present. He has used the instructor to get back at the veterans, and then he has physically subdued the instructor before the veterans. He is not only aggressive, like Marco, but is making use also of Charlie's maxims of "brains" and "brawn." He is telling all those present that he is not someone to be disregarded, but that his will has to be taken into account by them. Among the newcomers, as we will discuss further on, it is not surprising that Arye and Marco have the widest range and number of social relationships. And such large social networks are a prerequisite of leadership, and of influence, in the social order of the pupils.

(d) We have, then, a more precise idea of how pupils behave when they enter Metro, and of how they may progress. The following styles of adaptation can be discerned among these pupils:

(i) Passive Style of Newcomers - such boys (like Yossi and Seeds) are timid, are quiet, are cautious, and accept the lead and directions of certain veterans, for whom they also perform services. If such boys do not develop a more active, aggressive, style of interaction, they will remain followers while in Miftan-Metro.

(ii) Active Style of Newcomers - such boys (like Arye) demand the attention of the other boys, and perhaps of certain members of the staff. They are capable, and indeed willing, to use physical force to impress others of their serious intent to acquire a degree of respect, and perhaps of influence.

(iii) Passive Style Becoming Active - such boys (like Marco), after they have spent a period in Metro, begin to change their style. They become more aggressive; they challenge other boys, particularly newcomers, but do not back down if attacked by veterans, or even by the more influential of these. They engage in the taunting, mocking, and baiting of other boys; and they are quick to react to any perceived insults which are thrown their way. Certainly not all of them become leaders, much less influential, but the middle ranks of the status hierarchy of the pupils contain boys who are neither very recent newcomers nor wholly veterans, but who compete with one another and with the weaker boys for status and influence.

(iv) Studious Style - such boys (like Jojo, and Khemed and Flatfoot among the veterans) try to succeed through studies and/or workshops. They are more concerned to learn, and they try to impress their teachers and instructors with their interest. Generally, they are shunned by the other boys. Sometimes they become butts of teasing and aggression. At times they try to disguise their interest in learning, so as not to attract the unwelcome attention of others. In contrast to the leaders, and to boys who aspire to be influential, the number of their social relationships, their social networks, tends to be small.

(e) For most of the newcomers to Metro, the stages of socialization and of progression through time and the social order, appear to be the following. Most boys begin by using a passive style of interaction. On their way to becoming veterans, some of these boys switch to an active style of interaction, and this is a prerequisite for leadership and influence. In Charlie's terms, this is the change from being beaten to beating others. Such boys have a chance to become leaders if they can develop the dual talent of using both "brains" and "brawn."

Other boys continue with a more-or-less passive style of interaction, and these boys either become followers or isolates. That is, either they look up to and follow the leaders, or they reject the social order which most of the boys accept. Among the isolates are usually those boys who try to advance through studies. In view of Miftan-Metro's concern to inculcate its pupils with values that are held to, at least in the ideal, in the wider society, we may say that the social and moral order of the boys subverts these goals, and that they are abetted in this, to a certain extent, by the omissions of the staff. Let us note here, in passing, that Hosea tacitly accepts Charlie's distinction between being beaten and beating others; and that Charlie immediately illustrates his point by seizing Jojo, a weak newcomer who really wants to do well at work. Jojo, in turn, does not struggle and waits for Charlie to release him; while Hosea does not intervene. Here there is an acceptance, by all the participants (instructor, leader, newcomer) of the social order which the boys have built.* Later in the morning he illustrates his point about using "brains" toward members of the staff, when he tries to flatter the secretary by taking his side in a long-standing quarrel between the latter and the principal.

When Charlie (in his talk with the observer) suggests that the bigger boys be given tasks of social control, he is, in fact, also enunciating a tactic used by the staff to inculcate responsibility among certain of the leaders. But whether the boys understand the conceptions of the staff about such delegation of responsibility, or whether they use this to further their own aims and their own conceptions of the social and moral order of the school, is a moot point. There is evidence to suggest that the staff tacitly acquiesces to the subversion, by the boys, of its conceptions of order, authority, and responsibility. And, therefore, that in practice it works against its own attempts to teach moral values; while, unintentionally, it gives support to leaders who conceive of the moral order in terms of physical force with which to substantiate their own standing and/or to control others. Among the victims of such policy and practice are those boys who are more committed to study and work, and who are more open to absorbing those values which Miftan policy would have them learn.

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* Newcomers who immediately adopt an active style (like Arye) are unusual. In effect, they try to jump the initial phase of adaptation to the social order of the boys. From our observations, it appeared that Arye was succeeding in doing this.

The subversion of school goals, by staff-members, through their permitting leaders to use force for their own ends, is evident, we think, in the following tape-recorded excerpt of a conversation between Flatfoot (a veteran, so nick-named because of his flat feet), the principal, Zackaria (the social worker), and the observer. Flatfoot is committed particularly to studies, although he is not considered bright by the staff. During a recess he is sitting by himself when the principal, the social worker, and the observer pass by.

(1) Observer: Flatfoot, go sit in the sun; why are you sitting here?

(2) Zakaria: Flatfoot had trouble today with Uri (the metal-work instructor).

(3) Principal: Flatfoot, tell (the observer) what happened; let's hear what he thinks about it.

(4) Flatfoot: Snake comes into Uri's and he beats up boys for no reason. He came up to me, beat me and insulted me. He called me 'cripple'...When I went to Uri, he told me 'no'; if I told him everything that Snake did or said to me...But I didn't tell everything, because I was afraid of Snake, he'd beat me....

(5) Principal: When you go to a teacher or a social worker, you should tell him the whole truth.

(6) Observer: I don't understand. Flatfoot went to Uri after Snake beat him?...

(7) Principal: No, listen. He (Flatfoot) came to me yesterday and told it (about Snake) to me, but it was meal-time. I told him, 'It's meal-time, wait till tommorow and we'll see.'...Now, tell (the observer) what happened today.

(8) Flatfoot: Today he came over to me and beat me. He asked, 'Why did you tell Shlomo all those things?' He ran after me with rocks in his hand; what luck, if I hadn't seen him, he would've thrown the rocks at me.

(9) Observer: And all the boys heard what you said?

(10) Flatfoot: He insulted me so I also said something, I called him 'bambino.'

(11) Observer: And what did he say to you?

(12) Flatfoot: He said, 'Why do you say such things to me?' Is he the only one who can say such things?

(13) Observer: But why were you insulted by what he said?

(14) Flatfoot: It's because he always says that I'm a cripple - it's because of my flat feet - and it hurts me. Every day he says it to me, I got fed up....

(15) Observer: And you hit him back?

(16) Principal: He didn't hit him, he only called him 'bambino.'

(17) Observer: So he was angry?

(18) Flatfoot: Yes...is he the only one who can insult guys?

(19) Observer: And Uri or anybody else, they didn't hear or see it?

(20) Flatfoot: There were some other guys....

(21) Zakaria: But it's interesting.. The other boys didn't back you....

(22) Flatfoot: Didn't back me!

(23) Zackaria: There was Charlie, he didn't back you....

(24) Flatfoot: It's because he (Uri) sent him to the post office for him, and gave him five pounds.. He wasn't there at all.

(25) Observer: But what's the connection between this and what happened, why Charlie didn't back him?

(26) Flatfoot: It's because Charlie's his (Snake's) friend, he plays with him....

(27) Zackaria: And Marco was there too, and he didn't back you either....

(28) Principal: I don't interfere any more in what goes on at Uri's.

(29) Flatfoot: And he (Uri) always asks me about my brother, he's in jail, in jail now because he deserted from the army....I don't care about him, he should sit in jail....

(30) Observer: And he asks about it in front of the boys!?

(31) Flatfoot: Yes, I told him I don't know, he could go and ask my parents, I told him, 'Don't ask about it any more.' Once he told the boys that my brother stole this and that from him, and they came to me and said they know my brother stole things. Why does he (Uri) say such things?

(32) Observer: How did your brother get into his house?

(33) Flatfoot: I don't know, have I been to his house? I've been there only once, when his father died.

(34) Observer: You did go to his house?

(35) Flatfoot: Yes, during the 'shiva'....I came there and said: 'May your soul be preserved among the living.' No one knows this sentence, but I hear it at the synagogue.. .We have lessons every day at 8. But now I only go on Shabbat to the lesson, and I go to the synagogue every morning, before I come to Miftan. I also give money sometimes to the synagogue.

In the above excerpt, Flatfoot tells the following story. Snake, the most feared and respected leader among the pupils, insults them and hits them with impunity (4). Flatfoot specifically mentions that Snake does this within Uri's metal-work shop. Flatfoot turns to Uri for help, and is summarily rebuffed. Flatfoot also states that he was afraid to disclose all his travails to Uri, because of his fear that Snake would hear of his complaints. Flatfoot turns to the principal for help; but the latter is busy, it's meal-time, and he essentially tells Flatfoot to talk to him another time, (7). Flatfoot's fear of Snake is well-grounded. Apparently one or more of the boys overheard Flatfoot complaining to the principal, and told Snake of this. The following day, Snake beat up Flatfoot (8), in part for bringing his plaint to the principal. Flatfoot tries to stand up to Snake: he does not try to oppose him physically, and the best that he can do is to call the latter a "bambino," a very mild epithet in discourse among the boys (10). Snake responds to this opposition by threatening to stone Flatfoot, and the latter runs off (8). Given his position, and the fact that Flatfoot opposes him in front of other boys, Snake chooses to chastise Flatfoot.

Not only, according to Flatfoot, is Uri not ready to intervene to head off threats and violence in his workshop, but he himself taunts Flatfoot about his brother, whom he calls a thief in front of other boys in the metal-working shop (29,30). In turn, the boys pick up this theme and make fun of Flatfoot. In turning to two members of the staff for support and protection, Flatfoot is rejected or delayed, and he is left to face Snake with his own meager resources. This, in fact, permits Snake to act as an agent of social control, but one which supports the social order of the boys rather than the values to which the staff ideally are expected to adhere; and which they are expected to inculcate in the boys. In this little drama, a boy who is interested in learning, and who ordinarily is mild-mannered and complaisant, bears the brunt of the indifference of staff members, and his fears probably are reinforced, for they are borne out once again in the reality which he experiences.

In the conversation itself, the comments of the principal and of the social worker are of interest. The principal's statements (5,7,28) are quite inconsistent. By not addressing himself promptly to Flatfoot's complaints and fears (5) he implicitly confirms that he did not take these seriously. Tacitly, he throws Flatfoot back to the mercies of Snake. Further on (28), he states that he no longer tries to change the behaviour of the metal-work instructor, or the behaviour of the boys in this workshop. (This is part of a long-standing quarrel between the principal and this instructor, which will be discussed further on.) Flatfoot is left also to deal with this instructor by himself; and this man mocks and taunts him, and permits him to be beaten up. But, when Flatfoot says that he did not disclose to the metal-work instructor all that he had suffered at the hands of Snake, the principal says: "When you go to a teacher or a social worker, you should tell him the whole truth" (5). This statement of correct behaviour, of a moral imperative, is patently irrelevant to the actions which Flatfoot is describing. It suggests that, if Flatfoot had disclosed everything, then either the instructor or the principal would have reacted differently. Yet the reactions of these two staff-members were ones of indifference, and neither were interested in pursuing the matter further. This suggests further that Flatfoot's evaluation of his own experience, of what to expect, probably was correct: had he disclosed everything, Snake may well have become even angrier, and the reactions of these staff-members may still have been uncaring. In coming to the principal and instructor, Flatfoot appears to have acted more out of desperation, than out of any expectation of equitable treatment. For his treatment at the hands of Snake and his friends, and by the metal-work instructor, were long-standing affairs which were well-known in the school.

The comments of the social worker, during the conversation (21,23,27), also hint at a degree of indifference to Flatfoot's plight.

The social worker appears to measure the justice of Flatfoot's case by the degree of support by his peers which Flatfoot was offered. He specifically mentions that Charlie, an aggressive leader and friend of Snake's (26), and Marco, an aggressive and mobile newcomer, did not support the timid and quiet Flatfoot in the latter's confrontation with Snake. Yet, as our observers noted on many occasions, Flatfoot, and boys like him, often were the stigmatized butts of boys like Snake and Charlie, and were victimized by boys like Marco who were trying to establish a claim to influence among their peers. Where the principal undermines the values this Miftan tries to inculcate by his inconsistent pronouncements, which display the gaps between the ideal and the real, the social worker also does so by acceding tacitly to the evaluations which the leading and aggressive boys have of Flatfoot, and measuring his claim to justice by these. In practice, Flatfoot finds that, contrary to the claims of Miftan-Metro to treat the problems of its pupils with morality and equity, on an individual basis, his own dilemma is brushed aside by the principal and the social worker, and is aggravated by the metal-work instructor.

In this chapter we have introduced the reader to the distinction between "veteran" and "newcomer"; and we have suggested four styles of adaptation in behaviour and interaction among newcomers to Metro. We suggested that more aggressive styles (which tend to be less studious) are more functional for finding a respected place in the social order of the boys. And we have suggested that such styles are supported, implicitly, by the omissions of the staff.

CHAPTER 3

Leaders and Losers: Three Boys

In this chapter we look at the behaviour of three boys, throughout our period of observation, all veterans, in order to distinguish between two types of leaders, and between leaders and a butt.

1. Snake - Beyond Force

Snake was a tall, lean, and handsome boy, who looked older than his 14 years. The consensus of the pupils was that he was the most influential boy in the school. Here we are interested in noting how his influence was expressed. Our profile consists of a number of episodes, in which he appeared over a number of months.

The first point to be noted is that forceful veterans, like Charlie, and newcomers would turn to Snake for advice, both in instances of crisis and on prosaic matters. The following example illustrates a sudden crisis, for Charlie, where he is uncertain as to how to react and turns to Snake.

One morning, two husky older boys who had graduated from Metro the year before entered the workshop where Snake was working. They looked around the room, as if searching for someone, and then left. One of the other boys in the shop told the observer that the two had operated the school kiosk (which sold drinks and sweets) during the previous year, and that they had returned this day to collect debts which still were owed to them by some of the boys.

A few minutes later, Charlie came in, upset. He owed the two money. He asked Snake what he should do. While they were talking, Hodi entered and said that the two were threatening and hitting boys who had not paid up. Charlie called the two liars, adding that they wanted money which he did not owe them. He asked if Snake owed money. Snake said he did not, and that if they tried to extort money from him he would not give them a single groush. His stance and demeanour were fierce. Charlie, who in fact did owe money to the two, added that he too would not pay. Charlie asked Snake if he was frightened. Snake replied: "Me? Are you crazy?" Snake went back to work, ignoring Charlie, who stood at his shoulder, quietly, afraid to leave.

Some ten minutes later, the class ended and Snake and Charlie left together. The two intruders stood on the lower landing, blocking the front entrance to the school. Charlie went down the stairs, from the upper landing, looking miserable. The two did not allow him to pass. Also milling around, unable to get through the doorway, were four more veterans: Peres, Khemed, Boaz, and Menakhem. Snake told them all that, if he had owed money, he would pay up. Peres paid half of what he owed. Boaz and Khemed, friends, argued with the two. Snake did not attempt to intervene on behalf of Charlie. As they were arguing, a teacher, Sasson, came down and convinced the two to return another day and to discuss the problem of collection with the principal.

In this instance, Charlie turns to Snake for advice and for protection. This is not to say that he accepts Snake's advice, which essentially is to pay up what is owed. For, as we will repeat in coming sections, the social order of the boys is neither so cohesive nor so hierarchical as to have clear-cut, sanctioned, and enforced lines of authority and power. Instead, we speak of relative degrees of influence which sort out distinctions of status that are of meaning to the boys.

An additional point, with regard to Snake, is that other boys often did listen to his instructions. For example, during one recess Snake and Lulu were playing ping-pong. The principal previously had appointed Lulu to be in charge of the ping-pong equipment, but had admonished him not to monopolize the game. During one exchange, instead of hitting the ball back toward Lulu, Snake hit it in the direction of the observer. Lulu chuckled. Sitting and watching were Midget and Yaron, both newcomers. As the ball bounced about on the floor, Yaron caught it and, like Snake, threw it at the observer Lulu ordered Yaron to return the ball to the table, and Yaron handed it back.

As the game continued, Midget rooted for Snake: when Snake won a point, Midget would cheer and clap; while when Lulu made a point, Midget would jeer. At one point, Midget grabbed the ball, shouting that he too wanted to play. Lulu began to beat him ruthlessly. But Snake told Lulu to desist, and he complied. In this example, Yaron, a newcomer, first imitated Snake and then obeyed Lulu. Midget, also a newcomer, cheered Snake. For trying to take a turn at the game from the veterans, Midget was beaten by Lulu. In turn, Lulu listened to Snake.

In this brief episode, important elements in the social order of the boys were revealed. The newcomers identified with the veterans. The veterans controlled the newcomers, when the latter stepped out of line. And, among the veterans, the influential Lulu accepted Snake's judgement.

On other occasions, Snake took the lead in organizing the boys. One very clear instance of this occurred when a number of the pupils played a game, entitled "Road Signs", with one of the teachers, Simkha. The game called for one team to lead the way through the city, marking its path by chalking signs on walls and sidewalk as it chose its route. The second team was required to follow these signs, and eventually to find the first team. Snake and Charlie decided to be on the same team, and they were joined by Jojo, and by the newcomer, Arye. Snake then told Dudu also to join their team. Flatfoot said he wanted to join as well, but he was ignored. This group composed the first team. The second team was led by the teacher.

As the first team set out, Snake assumed its leadership. He decided on the route the team took, and the others accepted his decisions. After a while, along the way, Snake stopped marking the way, and the others (apart from the observer) followed suit. Losing their way, the group was undecided which way to turn. Snake took the initiative in asking for directions.

Passing a restaurant, they decided to have a drink. Snake talked to the observer, calling her a "doll," and asking her to go out with him that evening. Charlie, in one of many such comments, said that she could earn a lot of money by opening her legs. Arye also made obscene advances toward the observer until, after the observer asked him to intervene, Snake told him to desist.

Snake gave Jojo (a newcomer) money to buy refreshments for the group. On the way back, as they traversed a market area, Dudu suggested to Snake and Charlie that they steal something, arguing that there was no danger of being caught. But Snake vetoed the suggestion. As they continued to walk, Charlie and Dudu ignored the wares displayed in open stalls, but Snake picked up everything in sight and toyed with various items, as if he considered taking something, before putting them back.

Although Charlie and Lulu were given responsibilities toward the other boys by the principal (running the kiosk, looking after the ping-pong equipment), it was Snake, of all the boys, who most clearly exemplified Charlie's call (of the previous chapter) that certain of the veterans should be given tasks of social control. When Snake chose to be so, he was the most effective "enforcer" of all the pupils. This is not to state that he was a tool of the staff: he certainly used physical force for his own ends (as Flatfoot's complaints of the previous chapter indicated). For example, in the ceramic hobby circle, he, Charlie, Lulu, and three other boys were working with clay. Snake and Charlie fashioned balls of clay and hurled them at the other boys. When the instructor, Israel, tried to put a stop to this, all the boys, following Snake's initiative, began to pelt him with balls of clay. When Snake stopped doing this the others followed suit. He could also take liberties with other boys, without using force, in ways which clearly demonstrated his degree of control over them. Thus, on one occasion, he put his hand into the shirt pocket of Arye, a newcomer but a tough boy, took out some money and walked away without any resistance.

Nonetheless, when he chose to, he was most effective in exerting social control in ways which supported the staff. During a Purim party at the school, Snake and Peres tended booths where food was distributed to the boys in exchange for coupons which were purchased at the entrance to the room. Charlie came up to Peres and asked for candies. He received them, but did not hand over a coupon. Peres looked at him and waited. Charlie told him to forget about the coupon; and Peres smiled and shrugged. Snake, seeing what was taking place, rushed over and wrenched the candies from Charlie's hand. Snake said angrily to Peres: "Tell the truth! You didn't get a coupon for the candies, did you?" Peres smiled and shrugged again. Charlie also grinned and handed Snake his coupon.

On another occasion there was an uproar in one of the hobby circles. The instructor sent one of the boys to bring the principal. Instead, the principal sent Snake back, in his place. When Snake entered the room he said in a quiet voice: "If anybody opens his mouth, I'll smash his face." After that the lesson continued without serious interruptions.

The hobby groups, or circles, began to operate in Metro by November, from 2-4 P.M. in the afternoons. In part they were intended to keep the boys for lengthier periods within the ubiquitous "framework," and in part to give them the opportunity to participate in more creative and less directly instrumental activities, like class and workshop activities. Among these groups was the drama circle. According to its instructor, Mike, he intended this to be a forum of self-expression for the boys who participated: they would talk about themselves, and would participate in various playlets, whose spontaneous character would be marked.

Charlie was among the boys who objected vociferously to the drama circle. In one of the first sessions, Snake wanted to talk about his contacts with the police (he had been sentenced for a number of petty thefts, the last at the beginning of the school year), but Charlie disturbed the session and prevented him from continuing. After the session was over, they fought, and Snake beat up Charlie. In the words of Mike: "Snake mastered Charlie and not vice-versa. Snake was stronger than Charlie. Charlie never fought with boys stronger than him. I think he was afraid to fail and show his weakness. He never fought with Snake (on other occasions), with Chico, and with Nakhum."

Mike noted that, after the first few sessions of the drama circle, "I felt I lost control. Two boys helped me. One was Snake, the other, Nakhum. They controlled the other boys. In the beginning, Snake disturbed and beat up the others. I made him my helper. He had to help quieten those who disturbed. From that moment on he used his force more seldom, and only to control the disturbers. But one day Shlomo (the principal) told Snake to go to another group. I don't know why, and Snake didn't know why....Snake did not really participate.... He felt above it, he felt it was for fools...."

Despite Flatfoot's lamentations in the previous chapter, Snake used physical force less frequently than the other more influential veterans or the mobile newcomers. It is important to stress that he had no need to do so: Snake had proven himself in the past, and all the other boys tended to be cautious in his presence. In none of the instances described above was he challenged directly by another boy; and in only one case did he engage in a fight, after Charlie had thwarted him in the drama circle. Then be bested Charlie.

Mike's characterization of Snake, "He felt above it," was accurate in large measure. Snake was largely indifferent to the tasks set for him in class and in workshop, and he studied and worked poorly. But, compared to others, he disrupted and disturbed such activities less frequently, for he did not have to prove his strength.

Ironically, because Snake was less disruptive, the staff did not recognize him to be a major leader among the boys. In their eyes, such leaders were boys who made trouble and who stirred up others to do the same. Thus, with the exception of Mike (whose use of Snake was not authorized by the principal), the staff did not make use of his potentially formidable capacity for social control, and he was not given any formal tasks of "responsibility," as were Charlie and Lulu. In this there are two lessons: first, that the staff did not grasp fully the social order of the boys, particularly its top rung; and second, that the staff did not comprehend fully how boys in the school became socially mobile. The staff tended to perceive disruptions as expressions of power, while they usually were either tests of strength among contenders for influence or they were expressions of strength by boys who still were not confident about the influence they claimed to have. This accurately described Charlie's position, outlined in the previous chapter, that the bigger boys had to control the smaller ones by force. But Snake usually was beyond force, since virtually all the boys recognized and often accepted his influence. As we have seen, boys turned to him for advice, listened to his instructions, and let him take the lead in various activities.

2. Charlie - A Middle-Range Leader

Charlie already has appeared in these pages a number of times. We use him as an example of a middle-range leader among the boys: a veteran who is recognized to have influence by the boys, but who finds it necessary, unlike Snake, to re-assert his position on numerous occasions, often through the use of physical force. In the examples which follow, Charlie is not so much contending for influence among the boys (as are mobile newcomers, like Marco and Arye), as he is bent to demonstrate that he can exert his will, that others must take his position into account.

Not long after the beginning of the school year, the principal caught five boys playing cards, for money, in an abandoned house near the school. The boys were: Snake, Charlie, Chico, Coco, and Lulu, all veterans. To discover the ring-leader of this breach of school regulations, the principal first spoke with each of these boys separately, and then confronted them with one another. In these talks, Snake was indifferent, while Charlie was boastful and belligerent. As a result of these conversations, the principal came away with the strong impression that Charlie, rather than Snake, was the ring-leader. Consequently, the principal decided to give Charlie the formal task of running the kiosk during recesses, arguing that this would inculcate a sense of responsibility in Charlie and that, in turn, this would have a positive influence on the other boys. One of the teachers, Sasson, told the observer that Charlie was a liar, but that the task of running the kiosk would stop this. Sasson explained that Charlie lied because, although a veteran of Metro, he really was not good at anything. Therefore, said Sasson, Charlie did not have a high status among the boys, and so he had to use physical strength and lying to gain his ends. Sasson thought these means were not effective.

In our opinion, there were two misconceptions here. The principal considered Charlie to be the premier leader among the boys because he was so obtrusive and disruptive. But we already have seen how Charlie deferred to Snake, accepted his judgement, and on one occasion was beaten up by the latter for not accepting his way.

By trying to convince Charlie to change his behaviour, the principal hoped that the latter would influence other of the boys to do the same. But, if we are correct in arguing that Snake was the most influential among the boys, the staff would have been more perceptive to co-opt his cooperation, and to try to use him to influence the others (as the drama circle instructor, Mike, did with some success).

On the other hand, Sasson argued that Charlie lied and used force precisely because he was incompetent in classroom and shop studies, and therefore that his status among the boys was low. Here Sasson evaluated status among the boys in terms of their accomplishments in classroom and workshop. This accorded with the ideals and goals of the Miftan system, but it was distant from the reality we observed in Metro. Charlie's lying (toward the staff) and his use of force (against other pupils) accorded more closely with his own distinction between "brains" and "brawn": in the one case, trying to manipulate staff-members, and in the other, subduing other boys through force. We would argue strongly, and we will return to this point, that boys who were more open to receive the values and habits of behaviour which the school ideally wished to inculcate were accorded low statuses by the great majority of the other pupils. Moreover, by misreading, or by tacitly accepting the influence of the stronger boys, the staff inadvertently buttressed their power among the pupils. Then the more influential among the boys were in a better position to purvey their version of the school's social order, to the detriment of the values and habits that the Miftan system was intended to convey.

There is no evidence that Charlie's behaviour toward the other boys changed after he was put in charge of the kiosk. He continued to use his fists to punctuate powerfully his contacts with other of the boys, or to control their behaviour in what he perceived as issues of dominance and submission.

For example, one morning at breakfast, Charlie sat next to Khemed, another veteran. Khemed asked someone for a knife. Charlie hit Khemed in the body with his fist, saying: "And if you don't get a knife, what'll you do?" Khemed did not reply, and behaved as if nothing had occurred. When the principal had brought the water kettle to the table, Khemed began to pour himself a drink. Again Charlie socked him in the body and wrenched the kettle from his hand. As Charlie did this he slopped water on the table. The principal told both of them to watch what they were doing. Khemed turned to Sasson, who had been standing next to the table, and asked: "Sasson, did I start this?" Sasson replied: "Both of you started it! Stop it! Clean it up!" Charlie brought a rag from the kitchen and spread it on the table. Then he hit Khemed again, saying: "I won't clean up the whole thing! You clean it too!"

In this instance, Charlie tried to provoke Khemed. Khemed's lack of response demonstrated Charlie's strength and, correspondingly, Khemed's weakness. When the principal blamed both of them for the spilling of the water, Khemed turned to the teacher, Sasson, who was standing nearby, for support! Sasson's response was akin to that of the principal: he allocated blame to both of them, although Khemed had done nothing to provoke Charlie, aside from remaining passive. Essentially, both the principal and the teacher tacitly told the two boys that their quarrel was their own affair, to be settled by them. Again, the lack of intervention by the staff validated criteria of aggressiveness and strength which the boys used to make status-distinctions among themselves and, in this instance, ignored the gross breach of table manners committed by Charlie.

In another instance, Charlie was outside, playing with a piece of rubber piping. He smacked the piping against the wall, the street, and a car. When Flatfoot passed by, Charlie beat him on the legs, arms, and bottom, with the piping. Flatfoot started to cry, and ran off to find the principal. Meanwhile Lulu had fashioned a whip from a stick and a long piece of cloth; and he joined Charlie in smacking anyone and anything around. Charlie was summoned to the principal. There, according to Flatfoot, Charlie claimed he had not beaten anyone, but the principal called him a liar and slapped his face. When Charlie reappeared on the street, angry, he raised his hand and shouted: "If anybody dares say something, I'll smash his face!"

In the above incident, as in the previous one, Charlie struck Flatfoot to show off; and later he was aped by Lulu. If, in this case, Charlie was punished by the principal, the behaviour of the latter was inconsistent through lengthier durations. We noted in the previous chapter the response of the principal to complaints by Flatfoot that he and others were beaten up by Snake. Then the reaction of the principal (and of the social worker and the workshop instructor) appeared indifferent. What distinguished that incident from the present one? The principal posed a part of the answer when he commented that, because other members of the staff often refused to accept the authority to discipline the boys, he continually was rushing around "to put out the fires." Although his perception, that other members of staff were either unwilling to accept such authority or were indifferent to its exercise, appears to be correct, it had a serious effect on the perceptions of the boys. The veteran leaders and the mobile newcomers found that they were able to escape the disciplinary attention of the staff on many occasions; while the weaker veterans and newcomers complained of a lack of "justice" in the school: for they were unable to tell when their turning to an authoritative staff-member like the principal would meet either with rebuff or with careful attention. In general, the inconsistency of response by some staff members, and the avoidance of problems or the indifference of others, strenghtened the positions of the more aggressive pupils. With reference to the above examples, we should note that both Khemed and Flatfoot were pupils with more of an interest in studies, who were more prepared to accept the school as a framework for learning.

On many occasions, as was indicated in the previous chapter, Charlie deliberately tried to make other pupils accede to his demands. For example, during one recess some of the newcomers were playing pool. Among them was Gadassi. Charlie came in from the outside, pushed Gadassi aside, and took his place in the game. Neither Gadassi nor the other players resisted. Then Charlie told Gadassi: "Go get me a cup of water." Dudu, another veteran standing nearby, laughed. Gadassi hesitated, and Charlie repeated, "Go!" Gadassi looked at the faces of the boys, and went. He brought Charlie his cup of water, and then Charlie told him to bring another cup. Gadassi complied. In this instance Charlie fully controls a timid newcomer, taking his place in the game and making him serve the older veteran.

But, at times when the object of control was a more competitive and mobile newcomer, Charlie used more cautious tactics. One recess he and Coco were playing ping-pong. Marco, an aggressive newcomer, standing near the table, said quietly that he too wanted to play. The two veterans ignored him. He repeated his request in a louder voice, but they paid no attention. After some ten minutes of play, Marco grabbed the ball and threw it into a far corner of the room. Charlie and Coco sat down with their hands in their pockets, waiting. Marco, defiant, also waited. No one moved. After some moments, Charlie told Marco: "Go bring the ball." Marco refused. Coco told another newcomer, Shimmie, to bring the ball. Shimmie hesitated, looked at Marco, and said in a small voice: "You've also got legs; you can get it yourself." Coco tried a different tactic. He got up and called to Shimmie: "Go and get the ball and you can play." Shimmie ran to get the ball. Coco left the room, and Charlie played with Shimmie. Charlie called to Marco: "See! If you brought the ball you could play. Coco and I decided that in secret." Marco grunted, and appeared tense.

When Shimmie lost, Marco began to play with Charlie. Shimmie and Midget kept score. As they played, Charlie said that Marco had made a mistake in the score. Midget and Shimmie agreed with Charlie, but Marco disagreed. As they argued, Marco grabbed his racket and ran out. Charlie raced after him. They argued in the street in front of the school, and began to wrestle. Quickly, Marco was on his back in the street with Charlie sitting on him. Charlie seized Marco's head in his hands and threatened to bang it on the pavement. After a moment he relented, saying in a patronizing tone: "I've got pity, that's why I don't smash your head." Marco retorted ironically, "Pitying one, pitying one." As they got up, Charlie added: "You can bring your brothers or anybody you want to." Marco retorted: "Not my brothers. Me. Only me." Charlie added: "Okay, we'll see." Then Marco said: "But not here." And Charlie agreed that they would fight in the neighbourhood where they both lived. The observer noted that by this time they were very quiet, as if arranging a business deal.

The above is a more complex example of Charlie's control of an aggressive newcomer. After Marco threw the ball away, Charlie puts his influence to the test, and all action ceases as the protagonists wait to see what will develop. Marco does not respond, and Charlie increases his pressure, commanding the former to return the ball. Marco refuses. He appears successful in resisting Charlie. But then Coco comes to Charlie's aid, and commands Shimmie to return the ball: that is, Coco tries the same tactic on a different and more pliable newcomer. But Shimmie gains strength from Marco's resistance, and tells Coco to get it himself. Coco tries still another tactic, telling Shimmie he can play if he gets the ball. Here Shimmie is promised a place in a session of the game from which the newcomers had been excluded. Moreover, Coco gives up his place to Shimmie, and the latter plays with Charlie. What Coco has done here is to protect Charlie's standing, by coming to an agreement with Shimmie which circumvents Marco's defiance and leaves Charlie in the game. In effect, Coco has deferred to Charlie by compromising his own immediate standing so that Charlie will not have to put his own to a further test against the mobile newcomer, Marco. Charlie enunciates this in retrospective by alluding to a planned "secret" agreement between himself and Coco: to wit, had Marco returned the ball he would have had his turn in the game. The lessons here are plain: if the weaker boys obey the stronger ones, they will be rewarded; and, the two veterans spontaneously act as a team to protect the stronger of them and to split the united opposition of the two newcomers.

When Marco finally enters the game, and plays against Charlie, the other two newcomers side with the latter in arguing over the score. Then Marco disrupts the game, and Charlie is given the opportunity to chastise him, with the tacit support of the other boys. Charlie not only bests Marco, but he mocks him, presenting him as a weak boy, an object of pity. Marco's retort is sarcastic and still defiant, while Charlie says that he is ready to continue their contest at any time. To this Marco agrees.

It is significant that the great majority of such altercations are contests in public: that is, they are played out before an audience, and we may suggest that the onlookers are as much a target of the contestants as the latter are one of the other. The onlookers gauge the relative strengths and weaknesses of the contestants, and are prepared to shift their evaluations of these. While a boy like Snake has risen above the social pressure continuously to re-affirm his standing through such tests, the other leading veterans and the mobile newcomers use and at times encourage such physical tests, each for his own purposes. And, if the results of such tests are to have great currency, they should be put on before an audience, so that the impact of the outcome will have wider effect.

But it is also important to note that where aggressive newcomers like Marco tend to react very speedily to any and all perceived opportunity to show their courage and strength, the more veteran leaders like Snake, and to a certain extent Charlie, are more careful in expending the resources on which their standing is based. For such higher-status boys not only have to display their strength and courage, they also must best their opponents. Hence the spontaneous byplay between Coco and Charlie, in the above example, which protected the latter and which enabled him to choose a different opportunity to punish Marco.

The importance of playing to an audience is brought out clearly in the following example. The observer brought a tape-recorder into Sasson's classroom, and the boys took turns speaking into it. The high point was a rendition of a well-known football song, sung by Nakhum. Whenever one of the boys there disrupted the performance, Charlie hit him. Once Marco just stared at Charlie, and the latter hit him too. When Nakhum finished singing, Charlie left the room. Then Marco shouted into the instrument: "Charlie is the sone of a whore!" Nakhum left the room immediately. Apparently he went to inform Charlie, for soon after Charlie returned, demanding to know what Marco had said about him. While she argued with Charlie, the observer erased Marco's utterance. They began to fight for the recorder, with Charlie trying to pull it from her hands, while Peres and Nakhum (both veterans) tried to convince her to play back the tape. Sasson, the teacher, suggested a compromise: that they record a while longer and then listen to the whole tape. While the tape was played back, the observer explained that Marco's utterance had been erased. Charlie stood up demonstratively, kicked over a table, and shouted at the observer, "Frekha (a perjorative term for a female), get out of here!" The other boys picked up the cry, and were joined as well by Marco (whom the observer had tried to protect). Charlie and the others continued their catcalls until he went out and slammed the door behind him. After a few minutes he returned, quiet and calm, as if nothing had occurred.

For our purposes the significance of the above example is the extremity of Marco's challenge to Charlie. Not only is it uttered in public, before other of the boys, but it is recorded and preserved. In other words, the challenge is so blatant that all the boys there demand that it be played back for Charlie. None of these boys have any special ties with Charlie: not Nakhum (who informs Charlie), nor Peres (who likes to 'heat up' fights), nor Marco himself, who may have been afraid to insult Charlie in his presence, but now stands by his words. The teacher as well doesn't try to prevent the replay, and all the boys turn on the observer when they learn they have been thwarted. This is an extreme example of the importance of what might be termed loosely "saving face" among the influential veterans and mobile newcomers, but it lies at the heart of other examples of behaviour already offered; and it is crucial to understanding the social order of the boys, from their own perspective. Again we note that the intervention of staff-members in such challenges, tests of strength, and altercations was minimal: the boys were allowed to conduct their contacts in ways which made sense to the strongest.

3. Flatfoot - A Loser

Flatfoot was a big, plump, somewhat clumsy boy, who had entered the school during the previous year. His teacher noted that, at that time, he had been an excellent student and a good worker; but that, since then, he had been in a state of decline: he no longer paid as much attention nor invested the same degree of effort in studies or work. Nonetheless, although he was not considered bright, Flatfoot was among those pupils (which included Khemed, Hodi, Shimmie, Dado and Seeds) who were interested in their studies and who were prepared to see the school as a framework for learning. He was also among a minority of the boys who took religious observances seriously. His mother noted that he attended synagogue every day, and added, "He's a very good boy, he prays every morning. One morning I didn't wake him up early because he cried a lot the night before. When he woke up he was very angry with me, and he said, 'My brothers are rotten. Shouldn't I at least be good?' I didn't tell him, but I thought to myself that he was right. Since then, I wake him every morning."

Sloppy and lumpish, his behaviour in the school usually was cautious and timid. Because of his flat feet he was unable to move quickly, and he was teased about this. But, although he had entered the school during the previous year, certain physical weaknesses only came to light a few months into the present school year. Then, one morning, he fainted in a toilet near the metal-work shop. When he was told of this, the principal rushed to the metal-work shop and, together with Uri, the metal-work instructor, revived him. The principal explained to the observer that Flatfoot had fainted because he was frightened. A teacher added that he was frightened because Uri may have struck him. Another throught that Uri only had shouted at him. Whatever the reason for the episode of fainting, Uri was worried sufficiently to vist him at home some days later. Although Flatfoot had been in Metro for a number of months the previous year and for three months of the present year, this was the first visit made by a member of staff to his home. There, Uri was told that Flatfoot suffered from mild attacks of epilepsy, and that the boy had a damaged knee, as the result of a traffic accident. In fact, Flatfoot always had limped, but apparently no member of staff had inquired into the cause of this disability, and the boy had been teased about it by other of the pupils.

Flatfoot was mocked by the other boys for his slowness, his awkwardness, and his plumpness. Because other of the boys told him that he ate too much, he stopped eating lunch at the school, and instead would buy snacks at a corner grocery. One day, after lunch, when asked about this by the observer, he offered the same explanation: the other boys laughed at him. But he went on to say that, earlier that morning, the metal-work instructor, Uri, had demanded his key-holder. Flatfoot was afraid that Uri meant to keep it permanently, and refused to hand it over. Uri then told him that, as punishment, he could not eat lunch in the school that day. The observer asked him why he did not report this incident to the principal. Flatfoot replied half-heartedly, "Shlomo (the principal), he's the same."

He went on to complain about Dudu, another veteran, whom he claimed stole from everyone. Jojo, a newcomer, had been listening to the conversation. When Jojo heard Flatfoot's accusation against Dudu, he ran off. Flatfoot continued to complain about Metro, saying that the instructors and the boys were no good, with the exception of Sasson. Uri always told him to sweep up the workshop, but exempted the other boys from this task. As he continued, Dudu suddenly appeared and grabbed Flatfoot by the throat with both hands, choked him, and demanded to know why he was being slandered. The observer broke them up and Dudu left. It was clear that Jojo had informed on Flatfoot.

As an aside, we note that this example of informing (as well as two other examples offered in previous pages) conformed to a general pattern of such activity at Metro. Boys of lower standing (newcomers and weaker veterans) tended to inform veterans of higher standing about slights against them. Such information usually did not flow in the opposite direction, for it was the standing of the more powerful veterans which was most at issue, and these did not bother to tell the weaker pupils what other boys had said of them.

In a similar vein, information which was denigrating to other pupils, and which was passed on to the principal, came from some of the stronger veterans. These veterans rarely informed on one another, but would carry information on occasion, about the weaker boys, to the principal. Again, it was the boys of higher standing among the pupils who, to some extent, mediated between the principal and other of the boys, and they could tailor their information (and its target) to suit their own purposes. Although the principal maintained strongly that he was very well-informed of what went on among the boys, his sources leave this open to question.

Although staff-members, in particular the principal, maintained that they were encouraging important values by giving responsibility to certain of the higher-status veterans, and by letting the boys settle their own disputes, it is questionable which side benefitted more. Our strong impression is that the stronger boys took whatever resources they could, to enhance their own standing and to control the other boys in ways which suited themselves. The staff encouraged such social control in the name of the inculcation of values among the more disruptive of the pupils, even though the exercise of power by the higher-status boys rarely exemplified such values. More tacitly, a latent function of such a division of labor was to free the staff at times from having to exercise authority and social control. In effect, much of this work was done for the staff by the higher-status veterans, although hardly in a manner which accorded with the aims of the school, and indeed of the whole Miftan program. We will return to this point, further on.

After Dudu left Flatfoot, Shushan, a newcomer with the reputation of a thief among the pupils, came over. Flatfoot continued to maintain that the instructors were no good. Shushan disagreed, saying that only Uri was like that, because he struck the boys. Flatfoot added that Uri was forbidden "to raise a hand" against the pupils, but it did no good to complain, since none of the other staff-members paid attention. Suddenly Flatfoot remembered that Shushan had "stolen" a pair of scissors from him, and later had agreed to pay him only half their value. Shushan agreed, but laughed when Flatfoot chided him.

During another conversation with the observer, Yaron, a newcomer, came over and seized Flatfoot in a painful bear-hug. Flatfoot freed himself with difficulty, but did not strike back at Yaron, as the more aggressive of the pupils probably would have done. This incident is of interest because, moments before, Yaron had been bested by Lulu in a fight. In response to his defeat, Yaron appeared to pick out another target which he in turn could best. This series of contests aptly described Flatfoot's low standing among the pupils. His size, his concern with learning, and his pacificity, made him a fine butt for the stronger veterans; while his veteraneity made him a good target for the more aggressive newcomers. In addition, as seen from past examples, he rarely could expect the support of staff-members in his dispute. This is brought out again in the following encounter.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the end of the school day, Flatfoot and Dudu were standing opposite one another in the doorway to the school. Each held a fist-sized rock in his hand. When the observer approached, Dudu claimed that Flatfoot had stolen something from him. He warned Flatfoot that when he went outside he would be beaten up. As they stood there, Flatfoot afraid to move, the principal and other of the teachers came down the stairs toward them. He asked what was going on, and both poured out their versions. The principal grabbed Flatfoot by his shirt-front, and told him to get out. On the other hand, the principal offered to drive Dudu in the direction of home, saying that he wanted to separate the two boys. All three lived in the same general area; Flatfoot limped and, on past performance, it was quite unlikely that he had stolen from Dudu. In fact, in the questioning of the boys the matter of something stolen was quickly forgotten, and what emerged much more strongly was their long-standing quarrel.

The principal's reaction here matched that of his conversation, in the previous chapter, with Flatfoot and the social worker: in large measure he accepted the denigrating and stigmatizing opinion of Flatfoot which had wide currency among the boys, and which was purveyed in particular by boys like Dudu, Snake, and Charlie. Dudu was a veteran of middle-range standing, known as a good and quiet worker, as one who rarely created disturbances. Moreover, the principal had had comparatively extensive contacts with his family, in dealing with the boy, and with his brother, Mordukh, who had attended Metro at the beginning of the school year. Nonetheless, neither the principal nor other staff-members made any attempt to explore the basis of the quarrel between these two boys. He reacted in line with what he saw as "putting out fires," dampening the immediate conflagration, and placing the onus of blame on an accepted butt, Flatfoot.

Since Flatfoot was stigmatized for his routine self-presentation, he was blamed also when he deviated from this. This is what happens in the following incident, although its ramifications go far beyond how Flatfoot himself is treated. On this occasion, Flatfoot ate lunch with the other boys. During the meal he was pestered continually by Shushan. Fed up finally, he hit Shushan very hard, an unusual response for him. The principal threw him out, without letting him finish his meal. In the meantime, Uri, the metal-work instructor, had begun to scream at Shushan for disturbing the meal. Saucily, Shushan answered back, calling Uri a "fatso" and the like. Uri went into a rage: he picked up a chair, as if to hurl it at Shushan. The principal rushed over and tried to calm Uri, but to no avail. Shushan scampered to the recreation area, behind the grill which separated that side from the dining area. Uri shouted at him: "Everybody (in the town) knows that all the Shushan family are whores." The principal had succeeded in restraining Uri, when Khemed began to laugh. Again Uri went into a fury. He screamed at Khemed to shut up, yelling that if Khemed continued he, Uri, would cut off his hair (Khemed wore an afro hairstyle at the time). As he shouted, Uri took a switch-blade knife from his pocket, apparently to stress his point. The room suddenly became very still; all the boys and staff fell silent. Hosea, one of the carpentry instructors, came up to Uri and told him to put the knife away; while the principal harangued Khemed for opening his mouth at the wrong moment. After some moments, Uri sat to eat. Shushan still was standing on the other side of the grill, laughing, yet asking to eat because he was hungry. Amos, the other carpentry instructor, brought him a chunk of bread and told him to be quiet.

In this example, Flatfoot turns on a tormentor, and is made immediately to bear the brunt of the punishment meted out. In part this bears out our previous observation that Flatfoot was typecast in such a way that there was little he could do which would be appreciated either by the higher-status pupils or by the staff. But, in part, his outburst at the lunch table also indicates how poorly he understood the social order of which he was a part. Fights, for example, tended to be kept more to context where the staff often were not present or where their presence often was inconstant. As well, some locations were preferable to others, for such activities. Thus fights tended to be more frequent on the street near the school, in the recreation area, in the hallways of the school, and in the workshops of Uri and Amos, who both paid less attention to such conflict than other of the staff-members. As well, fights tended to be more frequent during recess than during classes or workshop lessons. Major fights were least frequent during meal-time, when a number of members of staff ate together with the pupils. Therefore such open expressions of contest and conflict tended to be segregated in space and time: from the point of view of the boys, there were better and worse contexts for such behaviour. Although staff-members intervened inconsistently in such conflicts, intervention was even less likely if the context was chosen more carefully. And, as we have argued, such contests were crucial to maintaining the social order of the boys, in ways which the more powerful among them preferred.

In the above example, Flatfoot chose to hit Shushan at mealtime. Not only were staff and students seated around tables, close to one another, but they were engaged in eating together, an activity which required a higher degree of coordination and of manners, in order to be accomplished, than did most other activities in the school. Disruptions at meals were highly visible. Moreover, particularly if the principal was present, they more directly challenged the authority and social control of the school, while punch-ups in the street, around the pool table, in a corridor, or in a workshop or class did so much less.

This separation of such activities according to contexts of space and time again points to the mutual adaptation of the social orders of the pupils and of the staff: each frequently ignored the other, unless such lines of time and space were crossed in ways which could not be disregarded by the staff. Newcomers learned the contextual meaning of time and space in the school during their first few weeks there. Flatfoot, in his second year, had yet to absorb this. But this also is another way of stating that certain staff-members were prepared to countenance such fights and punch-ups, in which weaker boys were beaten up, so long as they did not occur in overly close proximity to authority or on the more public and "official" occasions of the school.

Another point brought out by this incident is that the intriguer, Shushan, who "heated up" a quarrel with Flatfoot and who baited Uri, escapes quite unscathed. After having thrown the meal into turmoil, he stands laughing on the other side of the barrier, eating a chunk of bread. Where Flatfoot is punished in demonstrative terms, Shushan, the perpetrator, hardly is chastised at all for thoroughly disrupting the meal. The attitude of the staff again is one of "putting out fires," instead of attending to the cause of the disturbance in an in-depth and even-handed way.

As well, we note the reaction of the metal-work instructor, Uri. Reputed to have a hot temper, he displayed it here. Ideally, as an instructor, his behaviour should have had some degree of moral conviction: here he showed, in effect, that he believed the threat of physical force to be more effective. His actions and his language were not far removed from those of the boys of higher standing. If he was a model of adult behaviour, then their own emphasis on insult and physical force needed no alteration.

The degree to which Flatfoot came to accept the stigmatized image of himself, which was propagated by pupils and staff-members, is well-illustrated in the following incident. The occasion was the first time that the observer brought a tape-recorder into the school. The observer switched it on at breakfast, and placed the instrument on one of the dining tables. Immediately, Dudu shouted into the recorder: "Flatfoot has eczema, Flatfoot has eczema, Flatfoot has eczema on his balls and ass!" The other boys at the table joined in, and followed him in shouting this refrain. Flatfoot, who also sat at the same table, kept a sad smile on his face: he did not try to interfere or to call out into the recorder himself. That afternoon, the observer brought the tape-recorder into the ceramics hobby-circle. The boys this time began to chant: "Flatfoot has 'kartzimat' (a patented flea-killer; their intention may have been 'kartzia', viz flea), Flatfoot has 'kartzimat.'" Momentarily, there was an opening next to the recorder. Flatfoot squeezed in and shouted "Flatfoot has kartzimat, Flatfoot has ka. . . ." He paused in the middle, as if suddenly awakening to what he was saying, and faded back, smiling sadly.

The least that one can comment, on the above passage, is that Flatfoot so fully had come to accept his identity as a butt that at times he treated himself, as did the others, as an object of scorn and disparagement. That is, sometimes he came to see himself as the others saw him: as weak, as helpless, and as ridiculous. As such, in incidents like the above and in others we have described, he justified their opinion of him. But, in no small measure, the indifference of the staff to his plight, to his search for justice, enabled the boys to label him so firmly and to leave him no avenues of recourse. Left to their own devices, other of the pupils made their way in the pecking order of the boys. For Flatfoot, whose passivity and pacificity relegated him to the bottom of that order, there was also no succour in turning to staff-members for support. From a boy who was interested in learning, who held to a conception of justice in life, he progressively became more embittered and embued with a sense of hopelessness. His is an excellent example of the consequences of an inconsistent moral commitment on the part of the staff toward certain boys. Or, as we put it before, of leaving it to the boys to sort themselves out, according to the conceptions of the stongest and most powerful among them, without being unduly concerned about those boys who fell to the bottom of such a social order, nor about how others rose to the top in the eyes of their peers.

Although Flatfoot seemed resigned to his standing in the school, and to his lack of recourse, it would not be an exaggeration to state that he also despaired of it. He was hurt, humiliated, and furious, and he could find no consolation or compensation in the school. In the following talk with the observer, he described his feelings.

Flatfoot: Sometimes I feel like stabbing Dudu in the belly with a knife, but I'm afraid I'll hurt him. You know, I don't want them to open a police file on me. I hate the idea of a police file. I was born like this...and I can't tell someone at home to come and talk with Shlomo (the principal). My mother, she always believes me and she thinks I'm right, but my brothers beat me to death when they hear I've had problems in Metro.

Observer: Do you want me to talk with Shlomo about your problems?

Flatfoot: Oh no! Don't talk with Shlomo; he's no good, he isn't just. He never asks questions and never really knows what happens. That's why I wanted Sasson to be principal. Simkha is all right too; everybody is all right except Shlomo and Uri. Zakaria (the social worker) is nice but he's not a good social worker. Once I had a social worker who treated me and my friend. She gave us money to buy toy pistols for Purim and money to buy cookies too. Zakaria doesn't give us anything....You know, what hurts me is the fact that they say I steal when I don't. And no one helps. You heard about Avraham Ofer (the late cabinet minister)? He committed suicide. And you know why? Because people accused him and he was innocent. I'll commit suicide too, in the end.

Observer: Do you cry?

Flatfoot: Of course I cry. How can I help it?

Observer: Where do you cry?

Flatfoot: At Metro and at home. You know, sometimes you see me laugh. I can be happy, but they don't let me be happy because they accuse me, they call me a thief. Uri leaves his workshop and goes to talk to his friends (in commercial workshops in the vicinity). He leaves the workshop open and people come in and steal things, and then he accuses us. He says we steal. And then the boys say that I steal.

Observer: And you don't?

Flatfoot: No.

Observer: Are you the only boy who has problems here?

Flatfoot: No...all the small boys have problems too. The big boys make troubles for them. Snake, Charlie, Dudu....

Observer: And why doesn't Shlomo do something?

Flatfoot: Shlomo trembles when he sees them. He's afraid of them.

Observer: Do you have friends here?

Flatfoot: Yes...Midget, and Khemed, and Jojo, and this new boy who laughs all the time, what's his name?

Observer: Dado?

Flatfoot: Yes, Dado....Someday I'll catch Dudu and beat him up. I don't care, he makes a lot of trouble for me. And you know, someday I'll tell all about this, and about Shlomo. I'm not afraid. Once I dared to talk, you know, at the other school where I was before I came to Metro. A professor visited there with a social worker from the school. He asked the pupils many questions. He asked me how many legs a fly has, I answered, 'what am I, a fly doctor?' I knew that a fly has four legs but I wanted to give him a witty question....

Observer: You mean 'answer.'

Flatfoot: Yes, answer....You're the only one who talks to me.

We think there is little need to add to the above transcript: Flatfoot may be his own best spokesman, and many of his complaints may be justified. Seen from the bottom of the social order of the boys, Metro takes on strange coloration. There is no justice there. The metal-work instructor is negligent; he blames the boys in the shop; the boys blame Flatfoot. There is no evidence that he ever stole in Metro, but he remains the butt. The principal is ignorant of goings on among the boys; he does not probe; he walks in fear of the older veterans; and these stronger boys terrorize the newer and weaker ones. Strange perceptions, perhaps, but those which this boy has come to accept as governing the order of the school. He knows he can be happy, he says; but his fear permeates his talk. So does his loneliness. How much would this boy have benefitted from some attention and affection? Considerably, we think.

Summary

In this chapter we have suggested the following points: Among the veterans it is necessary to distinguish two types of leadership: top and middle-range. The attributes of a top leader are the following: such a boy is asked for advice, and sometimes for protection. Other boys listen to and often accept his instructions. He tends to use less physical force than do either other influential or socially-mobile boys. On occasion, he acts as a focus for the temporary organization of a group of pupils. As well, he is an occasional 'enforcer,' acting as an agent of social control, either at the behest of staff-members, or on his own initiative. He will tend to have informers among those boys of lower standing, who will tell him what others say of him. Lastly, he is largely indifferent to the requirements of the formal order of the school, as perceived by staff-members.

The middle-range leader has the following attributes: he uses physical force more frequently to justify his standing and influence. He is more disruptive of order, and more provocative, creating incidents to demonstrate how tough and influential he is. He places greater stress on the public nature of his demonstrations, often preferring an audience. He will also tend to have informers among the weaker boys. He will mediate at times between staff-members and other of the boys, either through being given formal tasks by the staff or by controlling information which he passes on to them. Thus the middle-range leader also will have some social control functions, at times with the affirmation of staff-members, and at times with their tacit approval. Such boys more frequently oppose actively or reject the formal order of the school, instead of being indifferent to it.

We distinguished also a type of boy who is located at the bottom of the social order of the pupils, and whom we call the "loser." The loser is a boy with an interest in seeing Metro as a framework for learning. For this, he becomes the target or butt of those stronger pupils who have little use for what the school is intended (at least) to convey. The loser, who turns to staff-members for support, is rebuffed. He feels strongly such lack of attention, and what he terms a lack of "justice" on the part of staff-members. He comes to be blamed easily, even by staff-members, for disturbances which he rarely begins: staff-members begin to accept the definition which the stronger boys have of the loser. The loser becomes more apathetic, and drops any enthusiasm for learning which he had at the outset. The loser exemplifies the subversion of the goals of the school by the influential pupils, who are helped by the high degree of non-intervention shown by staff-members. Often, this allows the stronger boys to define the school in ways which they prefer, and to minimize its learning functions, of formal knowledge and the transmission of values and norms of behaviour. The loser is to be differentiated from the "isolate," who is a boy with few or no social relationships with other boys in the school; The loser is a thwarted student, who may or may not have other relationships in the school.

As well, we noted the following points about the staff. Staff members misread aspects of leadership among the boys. Staff members were inconsistent in giving their attention to boys, and in applying discipline. The staff left the pupils to sort out their own modes of social control and their allocations of status; as well as to decide on which attributes and resources would be valued, and to permit these often to govern in formal learning and non-learning contexts alike. At times, in consequence, the staff were freed from the necessity of exercising their authority and social control: for these were surrendered inadvertently to those of the stronger boys who were most disruptive. Since staff-members were not exposed to many incidents, they found fewer reasons for giving affective attention and emotional support to many of the boys. As well, certain staff-members largely were indifferent both to the exercise of authority and to the emotional needs of the boys.

CHAPTER 4

Social Relationships Among the Boys

On the basis of observations, like those discussed in previous chapters, and other information, we pieced together the overall pattern of social relationships among the pupils of Metro. Any two of the pupils were said to have a social relationship, or a "link" between them, if they interacted regularly and consistently in terms of one or more "contents of interaction." From our observations we decided that the following contents of interaction were prominent and enduring features of interaction among the boys: hanging around together outside of the context of the school (in one another's dwellings, in the neighbourhood, or elsewhere); hanging around together in the school context during free-time (recesses, breaks, and so forth); playing games together in the school context (pool, ping-pong); behaving in deviant ways together (smoking in school, playing cards in the school context, stealing, and so forth); lending one another money or personal objects; exchanging personal services with one another; impressing one another with courage, daring, skill or physical strength; helping one another with lessons or with shop-work in the school context.

All of these contents of interaction emphasize voluntariness: that is, the boys choose whether to socialize or to pass the time in one another's company, whether to do things together, or whether to help one another. Their choices are not a function of the formal directives of the staff. In addition, the activities encompassed by these contents of interaction are expressive rather than instrumental. As well, these contents of interaction are largely reciprocal (with the partial exception of doing personal services, impressing one another, and helping with lessons). Where any one of these contents of interaction is a regular feature of the contacts between two boys, these boys are said to have a social relationship, or a link, with one another. If one or more of such contents appear only haphazardly in the contacts of two boys, they are said not to have a relationship with one another. Our emphasis, then, is on stable features of interaction between boys, which appear consistently in their contacts with one another. Our contents of interaction are derived from observation: they represent how the boys behaved regularly with one another. **Those** links which appeared to be regarded by the boys as fearful, as strained, as humiliating, or as forced, were not regarded to be the basis of a social relationship between them.

Therefore the links to be described are relationships which the boys appeared to value: they are not based on haphazard or intermittent contacts between boys which are part of the routine social life of any small group within the context of a formal organization. The overall patterning of such relationships, or links, indicates the dimensions and shapes of what we have been calling the social order of the boys, as distinct from the formal order of the school, which is more the province of its staff.

As we have argued, these social orders are interdependent: but we have suggested also that the social order of the boys was permitted to assume a shape which was valued by the boys themselves, particularly the more influential among them.

Where only a single"content of interaction" was featured in the contacts between two boys, the link or relationship between them was termed uniplex. If two or more interaction contents were found to appear consistently in the contacts between two boys, their link was termed multiplex. This distinction is made in order to suggest that the greater the number of ways these boys are involved with one another the stronger will be the relationships among them. The more contents of interaction there are in a link, the stronger it will be in comparison to other links which contain fewer contents of interaction. We do not differentiate among the different contents of interaction, in terms of their relative value to a relationship: all such contents are considered here to have equal value.

Diagram 1 presents the overall pattern of social relationships among the boys. The presence of such a link is marked on the diagram by an (x). The following designation, x, indicates that, to our knowledge the relationship antedated the presence of both boys in Metro. On this, our information is better for those boys who entered Metro during the period of our observations. (The significance of such relationships, in attracting of new pupils to Metro, was discussed in our previous report on how boys were recruited to this Miftan.) In Diagram 1, the boys numbered 1-16

	Yossi (14)	Avi (12)	Yaron (13)	Jojo (13)	Dado (13)	Shushan (11)	Shaul (12)	Gadassi (12)	Shimmie (13)	Mordukh (15)	Seeds (12)	Albert (15)	Midget (14)	Arye (13)	Motti (12)	Marco (12)	Charlie (14)	Snake (14)	Coco (14)	Dudu (13)	Chico (14)	Lulu (15)	Hodi (14)	Peres (14)	Flatfoot (13)	Khemed (13)	Menakhem (13)	Ronnie (14)	Boaz (14)	Gadi (14)	Nakhum (14)	Rami (15)	Total	Newcomers	Veterans
1. Yossi																																	0	0	0
2. Avi																																	0	0	0
3. Yaron																																	0	0	0
4. Jojo									X̲																								1	1	0
5. Dado																								X̲									1	0	1
6. Shushan							X̲																										1	1	0
7. Shaul						X																											1	1	0
8. Gadassi															X̲																		1	1	0
9. Shimmie				X̲																													1	1	0
10. Mordukh																	X̲			X̲													2	0	2
11. Seeds																				X					X								2	0	2
12. Albert													X	X	X		X																4	3	1
13. Midget												X			X	X									X̲								4	3	1
14. Arye												X			X		X	X		X													5	2	3
15. Motti								X̲				X	X	X		X		X															6	5	1
16. Marco													X		X		X̲						X	X				X					6	2	4
17. Charlie										X̲		X		X		X̲		X	X	X̲	X	X	X										10	4	6
18. Snake														X	X		X		X		X	X	X	X									8	2	6
19. Coco																	X	X		X	X	X					X						6	0	6
20. Dudu										X	X			X			X̲		X												X		6	3	3
21. Chico																	X	X	X			X					X						5	0	5
22. Lulu																	X	X	X		X												4	0	4
23. Hodi																X	X	X								X							4	1	3
24. Peres					X̲											X		X															3	2	1
25. Flatfoot											X		X̲																				2	2	0
26. Khemed																							X						X				2	0	2
27. Menakhem																			X		X												2	0	2
28. Ronnie																X														X			2	1	1
29. Boaz																										X							1	0	1
30. Gadi																												X					1	0	1
31. Nakhum																				X													1	0	1
32. Rami																																	0	0	0
																																	44		

Diagram 1: Social Relationships Among Miftan-Metro Pupils

are newcomers, while those numbered 17-32 are veterans. The age of each boy, at the beginning of the school year, is given in brackets alongside his name, where it appears on the other side of the matrix. Newcomers and veterans are arranged in terms of the number of relationships, or links, which they have. The total number of links which each boy has will be referred to as his "network." The newcomers are arranged in ascending order, in terms of their number of relationships: those with the smallest number of relationships appear toward the top of the page, and those with the largest number toward the middle of the page. The veterans are listed in descending order: those with more links appear toward the middle of the page, while those with fewer appear toward the bottom of the page. This arrangement enables the reader easily to see the degree to which those boys with the largest networks also have relationships with one another, and the extent to which those newcomers and veterans with the largest networks also are linked to one another. The total number of links, or relationships, which each boy has is listed on one side of the matrix; and this is broken down further into the number of his links with newcomers and with veterans.

The most visible feature of Diagram 1 is that the designations of "newcomer" and "veteran" do differentiate among this population of pupils in a significant way. Amongst themselves, the 16 newcomers have only 10 links with one another; and in 3 of these the relationship antedates the presence of both boys in Metro. There are 15 links between newcomers and veterans, of which 4 antedate the presence in

Metro of both parties to the relationship. Amongst themselves, the 16 veterans have 21 links.

In the forging of social relationships among the boys, the general trend is clear. The veterans have double the number of relationships than do the newcomers. Moreover, the newcomers have more relationships with the veterans than they have with one another. The number of links a boy has expands when he is in Metro for a longer period. Furthermore, there is a clumping of links among the 16 newcomers. Of their 10 links with one another, 7 of these are relationships among only 5 of the newcomers: Marco, Motti, Arye, Midget, and Albert. That is, these five boys have more links with one another than the remaining eleven boys have amongst themselves. In terms of social relationships, five of the boys dominate the category of newcomer. Moreover, these same five boys have 10 of the 15 links which are found between all of the newcomers and all of the veterans: the other eleven newcomers have a total of only 5 links with veterans. That is, among the newcomers those boys with the largest networks: (a) have a comparatively high proportion of links with one another, (b) have a comparatively high proportion of links with the veterans. Of the 10 links which these five boys have with veterans, 6 are with veterans of higher status (Charlie, Snake, Dudu). By contrast, of the 5 links which the other eleven newcomers have with the veterans, 3 are with higher-status veterans (Charlie, Dudu). Thus five of the newcomers have 6 links with veterans of higher status, in comparison to the 3 links which the other eleven newcomers have to such veterans.

The newcomers are divided clearly by the size of their personal networks, by the extent to which they have links with one another, and by the extent to which they have access to the veterans, particularly those of higher status. The other eleven newcomers have smaller networks containing only one or two boys each; while three of these newcomers have no links with other boys in Metro - in terms of social relationships they are "isolates."

These findings reinforce our earlier discussions of socialization, of mobility, and of status, in the social order of the boys. Among the newcomers, of the five boys who have the most social relationships, Arye, Marco, Motti, and Albert, are all aggressive boys, quick to tease, to respond to perceived insult, and to fight. Midget is a less-pronounced case. Among these five, the two most aggressive boys, Arye and Marco (whose behaviour we have examined in detail) also have a proportionally greater number of links with veterans. Of Arye's 5 links, 3 are with veterans, who are also of higher status. Of Marco's 6 links, 4 are with veterans. By contrast, Motti, Midget, and Albert, have only 1 link each with the veterans. We also will point out here than none of these five boys, with the exception at times of Midget, showed any interest in accepting Metro as a framework for learning, in its dual capacity of providing formal studies and of transmitting values and habits of behaviour.

In previous chapters we argued that, when a newcomer entered Metro, he was faced with two basic ways in which he could relate to the other boys in the school, and that these two approaches contradicted one another to a large extent. If the newcomer wanted favourable attention, recognition, and prestige among his peers, he learned quickly to follow the patterns of behaviour of certain of the veteran pupils. The higher statuses of these veterans was based on their physical prowess in fighting, on their readiness to fight, and on their comparative rejection and disruption of Metro as a framework for learning. By following the behaviour of such veterans, the newcomer had to slough off his more timid and passive style of interaction. When he did so, he gained a measure of recognition from the veterans of higher status and from others among the newcomers who had chosen the same path. Together, these more aggressive newcomers set standards of recognition among all of the newcomers. To further their search for prestige, the more aggressive newcomers tried to establish relationships with veterans, in particular those higher-status veterans whose behavioural examples they accepted. Where these newcomers succeeded in doing so, the veterans usually set the style and substance of such relationships. Those veterans then influenced the behaviour of these newcomers to an even greater degree. As well, the more mobile newcomers found more in common with one another, than they did with the remaining newcomers and, always on an individual basis, they established relationships with one another. In this way, the more aggressive newcomers became a more substantive focus for the transmission, to the other newcomers, of attitudes and habits valued by the higher-status veterans.

On the whole, the remainder of the newcomers kept their more timid and passive posture; and they succeeded in building few relationships during our period of observation. These eleven boys built few links (only 8) amongst themselves, with the more-aggressive newcomers, or with the veterans. Of their 8 links, 6 were continuations of relationships which had begun outside the context of Metro. The other 2 of these links were those of Seeds, one of which was with the low-status veteran, Flatfoot. This means that ten of the newcomers did not succeed in building a single relationship which began after they entered Metro. Three of these boys were "isolates," and six had only a single link each with other boys.

This is not to suggest that all of the eleven lower-status newcomers were open to perceiving Metro as a framework for learning. Still, all those pupils who held such a perspective, at least in part (for example: Avi, Dado, Jojo, Shaul, Gadassi, Shimmie, Seeds), with the exception of Midget, were to be found among the eleven of lower-status and of few relationships within Metro. The major point here is the following: in Metro, among the newcomers (and as we will see, among the veterans) there were no alternative foci to that of physical prowess and control around which other of the boys could develop social relationships which would not be threatened by the more aggressive veterans and newcomers. By permitting this situation to develop, through inconsistent discipline, through a degree of indifference, through the allocation of some social control functions to the more aggressive boys, and through their own deviations from the model of educator, the staff tacitly encouraged the more aggressive pupils to establish relationships with one another, while discouraging the other boys from organizing themselves in a parallel fashion. Again, the end result was to allow the more aggressive veterans to make their values the dominant ones, in social terms; to let these veterans become models of behaviour for the more aggressive newcomers, to provide, perhaps unwittingly, the more aggressive boys with social resources through which to express their attitudes; and to allow the continuing social isolation and fragmentation of the other boys, without taking any serious steps to enable them to compete through alternative means with the more aggressive boys.

The veterans show a pattern of social relationships similar to that of the newcomers, but it is a more-developed one. The sixteen veterans have 21 links. But, of these 21, 12 consist of relationships among six of the sixteen boys. These 12 links are found between Snake, Charlie, Coco, Chico, Lulu, and to a lesser extent, Dudu. These boys, with Dudu as an intermediate case, are the higher-status more-aggressive veterans. Of the remaining 11 links among the veterans, which are not confined to relationships among these six boys, 8 nevertheless are connected to these six. This means that only 3 links among the veterans are completely independent of these six boys.

Of these six boys, Charlie and Snake have the largest networks, of 10 and of 8 links respectively. Of Snake's 8 links, 6 are with other veterans and 4 with newcomers. This distribution accurately depicts an important facet of their relationship. Snake is the single most influential boy among the pupils: while he carefully guards his ties to other veterans, he is somewhat aloof and indifferent to the newcomers, **secure in his status**. Charlie often defers to Snake, but still feels the need to prove his status frequently in the eyes of the newcomers and veterans. He maintains more extensive ties with the newcomers, particularly the more aggressive and more mobile ones. This gives him a broader base of approval which Snake has no need of. But this also implies that he is, to some extent, the interpreter of Snake to the more aggressive newcomers: that is, he represents Snake (and Snake's attitudes) to these newcomers. This division of labour ensures that Snake will be respected among the more influential newcomers without himself having to deal with them, for Charlie does this for him. It is probably accurate to state that Charlie mediates between the cluster of high-status veterans and the newcomers, for Lulu, Coco, and Chico have no links with the newcomers. Although Dudu has 3 links to the newcomers, he is not as well-connected to the cluster of high-status veterans.

The overall pattern of social relationships among the boys of Metro shows two comparatively dense clusters of links, each of which is surrounded by a large number of relatively isolated boys, who have fewer links and whose patterning of linkage is less dense. Although the cluster of relationships among the newcomers is not a mirror-image of the parallel cluster among the veterans, its links appear to be predicated upon much the same attributes of behaviour.

It also is noteworthy that 6 of the 9 links between all the newcomers and the members of the veterans' cluster run between members of the newcomers' cluster and the cluster of the latter. Only 1 of these 6 links antedated the entry into Metro of both of the connected boys. Of the remaining 3 links between boys in the newcomer category and members of the cluster of veterans, 2 belong to the newcomer, Mordukh; and both of these antedated his entry into Metro: one is with his brother, Dudu, and the other with his neighbour, Charlie.

Thus, most of the consistent and frequent interaction between the two categories of newcomer and veteran flows actually between members of the two clusters. The veteran's cluster set standards of behaviour for those boys who wanted recognition and respect among their peers. They were imitated by those newcomers who, during the school year, formed the newcomers' cluster. With the veterans' cluster showing the way, both clusters often controlled the behaviour of the other boys, who in fact were a majority, and among whom were those pupils who at times showed quite a different attitude to Metro as a framework for learning.

It would be tempting to suggest that there was a developmental sequence in the parallelism of the two clusters, such that the cluster of newcomers, socialized by that of the veterans, would succeed to the status of the latter, as the latter passed out of Metro and as the newcomers themselves became veterans. But our period of observation was not lengthy enough to validate or to reject such a supposition. We only can point out that, as the newcomers arrived in Metro during the opening months of the school year, some of them formed a cluster of relationships with one another, while the rest hardly built any social relationships at all. Those who clustered did so according to criteria of behaviour which were valued by the cluster of veterans; and they were virtually the only newcomers to establish links with the cluster of veterans.

We also can note what occurred after Passover. At that time, eight veterans, including all the members of the cluster of veterans with the exception of Charlie and Dudu, were sent out to work. By that time our observations in the school itself were winding down, and so our information on that period is less complete. Still, our strong impression is that the following occurred: a major cluster began to reform around Charlie, Arye, Albert, Motti, Marco and, to a lesser extent, Dudu. The other boys did not form other clusters of relationships. Midget, given his ambivalent attitude to learning, was not a part of the new cluster. Charlie replaced Snake as the most influential boy among his peers. But this new cluster was neither as dense nor as cohesive as that of the veterans had been.

In these developments there is perhaps a hint of what might have occurred had the school remained open for another year: given his age, Charlie probably would have left Metro at the end of the school year; but, in the following year, an existing cluster of boys who had been newcomers, and now were veterans, would socialize a new population of newcomers into the social order of the boys. In this there likely would have been a high degree of continuity in attitudes and behaviour from that of the old cluster of veterans to that of the cluster of new veterans.

It must be stressed that there were no "groups" of boys in Metro. The term "group," in interactive terms, denotes a number of individuals who hold similar views, who have fairly distinct criteria of inclusion and exclusion, who act on occasion in concert, and who may have at least an embryonic division of labour amongst them. Only rarely did all the boys in the cluster of veterans act together (as in the card-game which the principal broke up); they had no criteria of membership, and no division of labour to speak of. Instead they would do things together in various combinations of twos and threes. But, because they all had links with one another, they exchanged information, and they formed a formidable front of pressure and molder of opinions among the pupils. To our knowledge, the less well-developed cluster among the newcomers never participated together as a group in any activity.

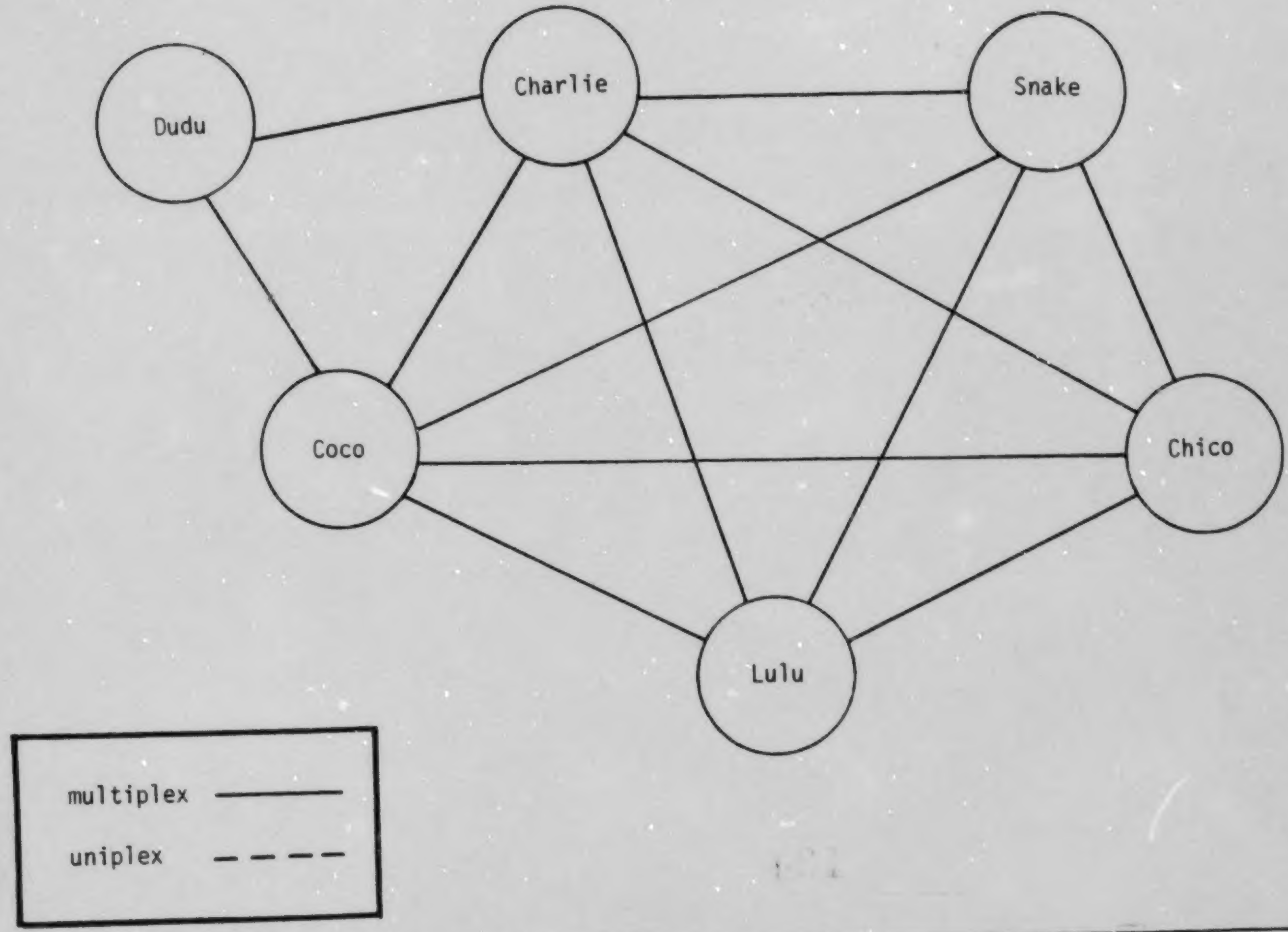
Diagram 3 shows schematically the links among the boys in the cluster of veterans. The cluster really consists of five boys: Snake, Charlie, Coco, Lulu, and Chico. Each of these boys has a link with every other boy in the cluster, and all of these links are multiplex. This cluster forms a very dense locus of links: it has attributes of "groupness," but has not yet reached this stage of development. The sixth boy in the diagram, Dudu, is marginal to the cluster, but he is connected through strong links with Charlie and Coco; and at times he acts together not only with these friends but with others of the cluster. By contrast, Diagram 4 shows the links among boys of the newcomers' cluster, and their links to boys of the cluster of veterans. The cluster of newcomers is less dense: not all the boys in it have links to one another. Moreover, not all of the existing links among these boys are multiplex: of their 7 links, 4 are multiplex and 3 are uniplex. The most prominent boy in this cluster is Motti; all four of the other boys in the cluster are linked to him. But Arye is better-connected to boys of the cluster of veterans: he has links with Charlie, Snake, and Dudu; while Motti is linked only to Snake. Motti and Arye appear as the more influential members of this cluster. But, as we previously noted, Charlie essentially took over this cluster when all the other boys in the veteran's cluster left after Passover.

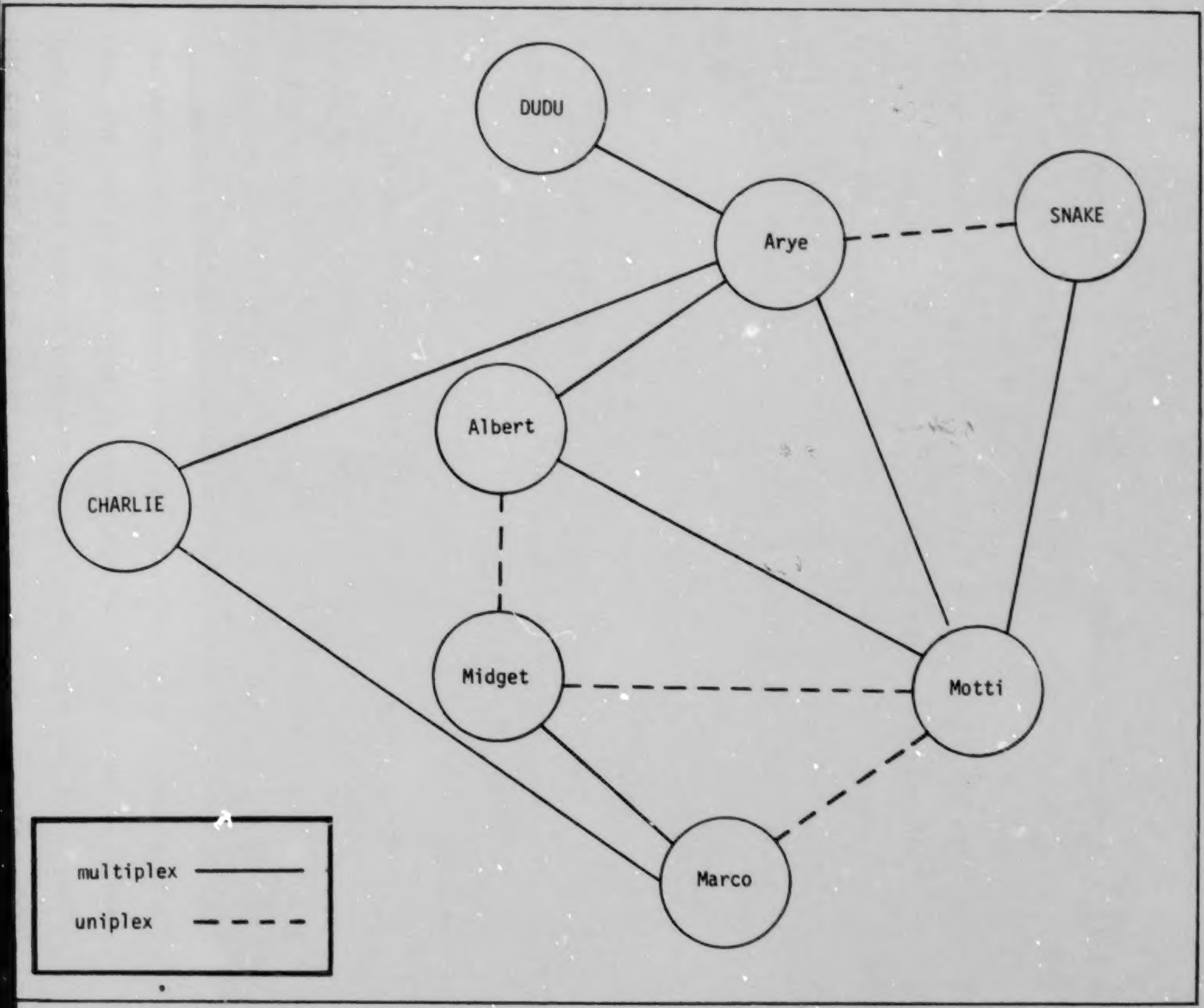
Diagram 2 gives the number of "interaction contents" which made up each link. The presentation of links is like that of Diagram 1: but here each link is denoted by a numeral which indicates the number of contents in that link. The results here reinforce our previous arguments in this chapter. Of the 10 links among the newcomers, 6 (60%) were multiplex. Of the 15 links between newcomers and veterans, 6 (40%) were multiplex. While of the 21 links among veterans, 18 (86%) were multiplex. The highest proportion of multiplex links is found among the veterans. The smallest proportion of such links is found in relationships between newcomers and veterans. This points again to the validity of the distinction between newcomers and veterans,

	Yossi	Avi	Yaron	Jojo	Dado	Shushan	Shaul	Gadassi	Shimmie	Mordukh	Seeds	Albert	Midget	Arye	Motti	Marco	Charlie	Snake	Coco	Dudu	Chico	Lulu	Hodi	Peres	Flatfoot	Khemed	Menakhem	Ronnie	Boaz	Gadi	Nakhum	Rami
1. Yossi																																
2. Avi																																
3. Yaron																																
4. Jojo									1																							
5. Dado																								1								
6. Shushan							4																									
7. Shaul						4																										
8. Gadassi															3																	
9. Shimmie				1																												
10. Mordukh																	4			1												
11. Seeds																				1					1							
12. Albert													1	3	2		1															
13. Midget												1			1	2									2							
14. Arye												3			3		4	1		3												
15. Motti								3				2	1	3		1		2														
16. Marco													2		1		3						1	1				1				
17. Charlie										4		1		4		3		5	5	7	3	4	1									
18. Snake														1	2		5		4		4	4	1	2								
19. Coco																	5	4		4	3	4					3					
20. Dudu										1	1			3			7		4												1	
21. Chico																	3	4	3			3					2					
22. Lulu																	4	4	4		3											
23. Hodi																1	1	1								2						
24. Peres					1											1		2														
25. Flatfoot											1		2																			
26. Khemed																							2						3			
27. Menakhem																			3		2											
28. Ronnie																1														2		
29. Boaz																										3						
30. Gadi																												2				
31. Nakhum																				1												
32. Rami																																

Diagram 2: Number of Interaction Contents in Each Social Relationship

Diagram 3: Links Among Veterans with the Largest Networks





Diagrm 4: Links Among Newcomers with the Largest Networks, and Their Links to Prominent Veterans

Names of veterans are capitalized.

for the links between these categories are proportionally weaker than the links within each category. These findings also show that the longer boys were in Metro the more links they developed (as we argued previously), and the stronger these links became.

In terms of the degree of multiplexity of links, among the newcomers only 1 (10%) link had four or more interaction contents; in links between the newcomers and the veterans only 2 (13%) links had four or more interaction contents.

In comparing the cluster of veterans with that of the newcomers, the former shows a higher degree of multiplexity than does the latter. In the cluster of veterans, there are 3 links with three contents each, 6 links with four contents each, 2 links with five contents each, and 1 link with seven contents. In the cluster of newcomers, there are 3 links with one content each, 2 links with two contents each and only 2 links with three contents each.

We will not discuss here, in any detail, the interaction contents themselves which constituted the links among the boys, except to note which combinations of these contents appeared most frequently. In terms of their interaction contents, the following links appeared most frequently in the population of pupils: by itself, the interaction content of, "contacts outside of Metro itself," constituted 6 links. As would be expected, such a uniplex link was found only between newcomers and between newcomers and veterans.

By itself, this content did not constitute any links between veterans. The interaction contents of, "hanging around together during breaks," "playing games together," "doing deviant things together," and "lending one another various items," together constitute 6 links. Again, as would be expected, this pattern of contents is found only in links between veterans. In general, the patterning of interaction contents within links supports the points we have specified throughout this chapter.

In this chapter we discussed aspects of social relationships among the boys of Metro. The categorical distinction between veterans and newcomers proved to be useful. Although the boys did not act in "groups," they formed into two major clusters, one of veterans and one of newcomers, with comparatively extensive ties between these clusters. Moreover, these clusters were surrounded by large numbers of boys with few social relationships: these boys included many of those who were prepared to perceive Metro as a learning framework, as well as "losers" and complete "isolates." We suggested further that the cluster of veterans socialized that of the newcomers; and that both of these clusters controlled to a large extent the behaviour of the other boys, in terms of their own conceptions of physical prowess, aggression, and force. We also noted that the relationships of veterans tended to be more numerous and were stronger in their make-up.

We think these findings are especially important because the social relationships described hardly were constituted in the official image of the school, or in terms of the formal pronouncements of staff members. Since newcomers and veterans worked and studied together in workshops and classrooms, and since they ate together at the same tables, the formal organization of Metro had little effect on the development of social ties among the pupils. Instead, these social relationships express, first and foremost, patterns of choice among the boys themselves, which hardly are inhibited by any of the formal features of the school itself. These patterns of choice, we suggest, show how the boys conceptualized their social order, the kinds of behaviour which were valued in making this order, and the kinds of alternatives of choice which the boys permitted or encouraged themselves to make, with the requisite rewards and costs which such choices entailed for them.

Furthermore, we think these findings are significant because they differ radically from the ways in which the staff perceived the order of the boys. Staff members, like the principal, the social worker, the educational advisor, and the teachers, had a "treatment perspective" towards the boys: this often was based on psychologistic assumptions which purported to explain the behaviour of these youngsters. In the main, each boy was regarded first and foremost as an individual whose behaviour (whether positive or negative) derived from his psychological make-up, family experience, experiences in schools previously attended, and so forth. But a boy rarely was evaluated in terms of the context of Metro itself, in terms of his particular social relationships, with the freedom and the constraint, the power and the opprobrium which these brought him.

The staff displayed little understanding, for example, that a troublesome veteran did not only represent himself, and his own desires when he hit a newcomer or disturbed a lesson. Instead, he was representing a point of view which was held by a cluster of five or six boys who interacted frequently with one another, who exchanged information and opinions, and who had fairly definite conceptions of what constituted power and what kinds of behaviour were to be accorded esteem. They strongly influenced, supported, and reinforced one another's views; and by acting according to their common standards they affected the behaviour of many of the other boys: the clustering of aggressive newcomers who wanted their esteem; the prevention of clustering among boys who held viewpoints different from their own; the denigration of boys who showed more interest in learning; and the closing of the possibility that a different standard of values could emerge in a coherent and substantive fashion among the boys.

When the principal gave Charlie the task of running the kiosk, or Lulu the task of taking charge of the ping-pong equipment, he supplied the whole cluster of veterans with resources which they used to encourage imitative behaviour among the cluster of newcomers, and with which to quell any opposition. By treating them as problematic individuals, he disregarded the point that their strength, as well as the constraints upon them, derived in large measure from their networks of social relationships; and that, without altering the patterning of such relationships in the school, there was little chance of inculcating values of responsibility in these boys.

When the social worker commented that Flatfoot had received no support in his opposition to Snake, he treated these sources of potential support as individuals, without taking into account their social ties, which were part of the reason that Flatfoot was isolated and denigrated in the first place. Instead of understanding Flatfoot's lack of peer support as the failure of the school to provide support for boys like this, he tacitly blamed Flatfoot for not accepting the standards of the veterans' cluster, standards which subverted the formal aims of the school. We will return to this subject in discussing professional roles in the school.

CHAPTER 5

Pupil Behaviour and Teaching Style

In this chapter we discuss the teaching styles of four teachers - Simkha, Sasson, Yekheskel (who is also the teacher-advisor), and Israel, a substitute-teacher - by describing a classroom-session of each of these mentors. Although we do not maintain that each of these class-sessions is "typical," we do think that these sessions are sufficiently representative of how each teacher worked in general, of how pupils behaved in the context of classrooms, and of how these teachers dealt with classroom behaviour. In addition, we look at behaviour during one session of carpentry workshop, that of Amos, and we discuss the other workshops, and the difficulties encountered in running one of the afternoon hobby circles, that of the drama group.

When a boy first arrived in Metro he was tested by the teacher-advisor, Yekheskel, who then assigned him to a class, in terms of the pupil's knowledge and educational level. The pupils of Metro were divided into five educational levels; and in each of these levels the pupil was exposed to the appropriate basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic. But, within each class (which corresponded to an educational level) there was great emphasis on the personal capacity of each pupil. Aside from doing certain exercises and teaching-games together, as a class, each pupil had a more individual course of instruction. A large proportion of class time, therefore, was taken up with boys doing exercises, each under the personal supervision of the teacher. Classes were small, ranging from three to seven pupils each. As well, pupils could switch classes (and so educational levels), sometimes at the behest of a teacher, but often at their own insistence.

It should be clear that the formal elements of the teaching system (and that of the workshops) stressed flexibility, individualized instruction, and the adaptation of curricula to the capacities of each individual student. Together with the small size of classes, these points suggest an optimum template for the teaching of boys with learning difficulties. But it should be kept in mind that these boys had dropped out of the public school system, in the main either because of what they did (e.g. disruption of classrooms, delinquency) or what they failed to do (e.g. extended abseenteism from school). There was no chance of their returning to an academic school system, and little chance of their transferring full-time to a vocational school.

Most of the boys were well aware of this. They were comparatively uninterested in learning even the basics of the three R's: reading, writing, and arithmetic. For them, the means-ends relationships in such learning was not at all clear. Their perception of rewards for such learning was ambiguous and transitory. Even though they received report cards and grades, there was for them less evidence of a process of the accretion of knowledge which could be summated in finite and concrete accomplishments and which, in turn, could be translated into rewards outside of Metro: that is, rewards which demonstrated a continuity in their life-lines, in pointing them toward the kind of future they expected to have. The situation of the workshops was different, and will be discussed further on in this chapter. Here we note only that in the classrooms there were more disciplinary problems of a behavioural character which prevented pupils from attending to their studies, and which the teachers had to contend with before they could expect to interest pupils in the content itself of lessons. In comparison to two of the workshop instructors, the teachers made more of an effort to do the job, in its dual aspects of holding the interest of the pupils and of maintaining discipline. Nonetheless, in these regards, the teachers to be considered varied in their success.

It is instructive here to mention the kinds of educational principles which, in ideal terms, the principal expected the teachers to follow. The following instructions were part of a document circulated by the principal some years before; but they also adequately encompassed his formal views during the period of observation.

> "The boy in Metro cannot face educational demands. Many times this makes him aggressive. The teacher should understand that this aggression is not personal and he should not be insulted. From the Metro boy the teacher must expect behaviour different from that of a regular boy. He should remember that this boy hardly can adapt and that behind his behaviour there is much suffering.
>
> The teacher should pay attention to positive expressions and positive behaviour, and he should not discourage the pupil. The teacher should be tolerant. He should relate individually to each boy. His treatment should be based on a real dialogue between teacher and pupil, not only about specific problems of discipline but also on general matters."
>
> (In its referents, the term 'teacher' here also includes workshop instructors.)

As we already noted with regard to the attention to, influence on, and intervention of staff-members in the informal social order of the boys, there was a hiatus of serious proportions between such idealistic pronouncements and the reality of everyday life. Some of the staff-members (particularly the principal and teachers) were well aware of this gap. But, in part, this hiatus existed also in the classroom context; and, again in part, it was related to the style of conduct which the teacher adopted in the classroom. We turn now to discussions of classroom contexts.

1. A Class With Simkha

This class is on the lowest of the educational levels. Present are the newcomers, Marco and Shushan, and the veteran, Rami. Each of the boys takes a turn reading from a book on the subject of cleanliness. Shushan is sucking a lollipop which looks like an infant's pacifier. Working at his candy, Shushan pays no attention to Simkha's instructions. Simkha tells him to put it aside. Shushan complies, but soon puts the candy back into his mouth. Simkha threatens to throw it away. Shushan waves the lollipop at Simkha and adds in a challenging tone, "You want to see this?" Simkha picks up a long wooden pointer, shakes it at Shushan, and responds: "You want to see *this*?" Shushan subsides.

Simkha gives Rami an exercise to do in arithmetic, and the other two boys begin to paint. Marco complains about the colours available and stamps the floor in disgust. Shushan adds that he hates to paint. But they continue, and Simkha moves between the two, commenting and giving advice. Rami works quietly by himself.

Yekhezkel, the teacher-adviser, comes in with a newcomer, Gadassi, who had begun in the former's class but was too weak for that level. Simkha asks Gadassi his name, and adds that he knows where the boy lives because he knows a cousin of Gadassi. Marco and Shushan ask Simkha if he knows where they live. When he responds with their addresses they ask each other how he knows. Simkha turns to Gadassi and asks him if he knows how to read and write; and Gadassi responds affirmatively. Simkha says: "We'll see right away." The boys take out their readers. Shushan asks Gadassi which workshop he is in, and Marco comments that he taught Gadassi to use a wood-plane in the carpentry shop.

The boys take turns reading. When Sinkha calls on a pupil, he says, "Sage Shushan, read," or "Rabbi Rami, read." In responding to Simkha, the boys use the same or similar titles of address. Marco and Shushan read together. When they utter the word for a "baby bird" (gozel), Simkha comments: "Exactly like you; small like you too." The referents of the term, "baby bird," in this context appear to be those of being soft, being friendly.

They switch to doing an exercise in arithmetic. Simkha helps Shushan. The other boys work alone. The observer says to Simkha that Marco is very good. Shushan retorts with a pun: "He guesses, he's a snake" (the noun, snake, is derived here from the verb, to guess). They all laugh. Marco works well, but impatiently.

When he sees that many of the answers end with the numeral one, he begins to write "one" automatically. He tells Simkha that he cannot do the exercises. Simkha suggest that he use his fingers. Shushan throws his copybook on the desk, saying "That's enough for me." Simkha comments to the observer that Shushan has the capacity, but that he is too impatient and that he does not like to begin a new subject.

They start to play word games. Simkha writes sentences, from the reader, on the blackboard, leaving empty spaces for words to be filled in by the pupils. Gadassi, who has been very quiet, also participates. Marco cheats: he sneaks looks at the reader, even though Simkha told them all not to. Marco shouts out a word; but Simkha is angry with his cheating, and shows Marco the pointer, adding: "Next time I'll break your head." Marco pretends to protect his head with his fingers. But Simkha throws Marco out of the game. Angry, Marco threatens, "I won't come tomorrow to Metro." Simkha pays no mind. When one of the boys fails in his turn to fill in a word, Simkha chalks up a mark on the blackboard and says, inversely, "Nice," "Wonderful," "Correct" - this elicits laughter from all the pupils, including the loser. They continue until the end of the lesson.

On one occasion, when Gadassi pronounces the word for "doctor," he says "peh" in place of "pheh." Simkha says he has mispronounced the word, and tells him to say "pheh." Shushan adds that, "Maybe the Kurds say 'peh'." Gadassi is from a neighbourhood with a large Kurdish population. Gadassi asks Simkha if he lives there too.

Shushan retorts: "Why? Does he look like someone from (the neighbourhood)? He's Yemenite." On another occasion Marco makes a mistake on an arithmetic exercise. Simkha tells him: "Maybe 4 + 2 are 7 in Morocco, but here in Israel it's just 6."

In this class, Simkha's style of teaching is relaxed and attentive. He circulates well among the pupils and replies to their questions. He skillfully moves from topic to topic, to keep the pupils from becoming bored or losing their concentration. Thus he begins with reading; switches to painting; returns to reading, then to arithmetic, and finishes the class with word games. Although the boys appear restless on occasion, they participate, they pay attention in turn, and they do not create sub-foci of interest which would compete with the goals of the lesson.

In turn, Simkha gives the boys much verbal encouragement and compliments. He is friendly rather than distant: metaphorically he likens them to "baby birds," small, warm, needing attention. He laughs at their pun; and he is sufficiently relaxed in his manner and in control to turn their failures in the word game into a joke. This kind of joking is not mocking: instead, it encourages the boys further, for it appears to communicate that he understands their problems and is sympathetic. Put otherwise, he laughs with them, not at them. The same is true when he calls on the boys to read, addresses them as "Sage" or "Rabbi," and they use the same terminology in addressing him. He is creating a sense of joint involvement, of something that they share together: if he kids them gently, they do the same to him. Together, temporarily, they partake of an unusual closeness for Metro; but one in which hierarchy is not forgotten.

He does not countenance the elaboration of distraction, is quick to discipline, and remains cool when confronted. In short, he is consistent and equanimious in his dealings with his pupils. In response to Shushan's distraction and to Marco's cheating he warns them, shows the wooden pointer, and threatens them. But is this lesson (and others) he neither under-reacts nor exaggerates his response to what may be seen as attempts at disruption or distraction. Perhaps because of his easy manner, his equanimity, and his insistence on discipline which is neither rigid nor inconsistent, he is not driven to an impasse from which force may be perceived as the sole way of avoiding loss of control and capitulation. On their part, the boys respond to his style by remaining in class - there are no comings and goings - by participating, and by appearing to enjoy the lesson. Although it is true that none of these boys had links with one another, Simkha, in this class, succeeded in cutting them out of the social order of the boys, of making its imperatives temporarily irrelevant, and of creating within the lesson quite a different context which became conducive to studies and which held the attention of these pupils.

On another occasion, Simkha discussed how he tried to run his classes:

Teach them not to swear. To behave politely, to speak politely. And that's the main thing with me. Look I don't demand that a student be excellent in studies. But I'm very strict about their coming on time, coming before time, leaving on time. If they want to leave during class, to ask permission. To accustom him to the organization of life, of work. To watch time. Eight is eight, and he has to be in class. As I come on time, so should he.

I was strict about the class being clean. When the cleaning woman didn't clean the room, I took the boys and we did it together: discipline, education. You won't hear a curse in my class. The moment a boy curses, I shout at him and won't let him into my class. The first thing is discipline.

But the moment he goes out, or into a workshop, and hears the adults cursing...there's nothing like that in my class. But after I teach a boy, give him values, and five minutes later he goes to a workshop or to a break, and he hears the adults fighting, shouting, and swearing; or an instructor throws something or shouts at another person....So where's my teaching gone? And the boys say to me, 'Why do you come to us? To tell us to be moral, to be polite, not to swear, when my instructor does it?' Or I organize them about like, how important it is to work well, to know a trade, and they say, 'What do we learn about work? We have an instructor who does nothing. He gives us nothing.'

I have to show you this report card on Arye (written by Amos, one of the carpentry instructors). Just by the handwriting, how, how, he wrote this in anger, he wrote it with such hate. I'm not a graphologist, but...it's so outstanding....His instructor wrote it. He hates the boy. The meaning is, do you know what it means that he hates him?....I'm not even speaking about...that they don't even know how to give grades....These matters are so aggravating, you know...these things often are expressed in class. These are expressed often in the boys' behaviour.

As we noted, Simkha's style of teaching bears out his claims about his efforts, at least in the classroom. Of the staff (perhaps with the exception of the principal), he appears to come closest to the conscious realization of the transmission of values and habits which is one of the major goals of the whole Miftan system. But he asks, with anger and a degree of anguish, if there is any point to his efforts if they are subverted speedily by other members of the staff, particularly two of the instructors. Simkha knows well that the boys are fluent in swearing: what irritates him is that staff-members themselves reinforce this habit among the boys by showing that, if some adults criticize such behaviour, then others who are of equal standing also condone and implicitly encourage it. The boys themselves, when Simkha tries to discipline them, turn on him and offer the instructors as models of behaviour which are of equal worth in the Metro hierarchy. Simkha's dilemma clearly shows that the other side of the pressures exerted by the cluster of veterans is the indifference, of certain staff-members, to the goals of the school: unplanned and uncoordinated, their respective attitudes and actions pull together nonetheless to subvert these goals.

2. A Class With Sasson

In this lesson are the veterans, Hodi and Ronnie, and the newcomer, Shimmie. The observer asks where Gadi is. One boy replies that he refuses to come to Metro because the principal does not permit him to go to ORT with the older boys. (One day a week the older boys study in the ORT Khanikhim program). Another boy maintains that Gadi wants to go to a kibbutz. Ronnie says that he too wants to go to a kibbutz, adding: "Why should I come to this shit?" Sasson replies sharply, "Then why don't you go to a kibbutz instead of staying here." The boys do arithmetic exercises, with Hodi frequently calling out to Sasson to come and help him. Shimmie works quietly. Ronnie does not work: he just fiddles with his pencil and paper. Then he mutters that he is sick today, and shows the observer a doctor's note permitting him to remain at home. The observer asks why he does not go home, if he feels poorly. Ronnie replies in a surly tone, "What'll I do there, in that shit?" Sasson tells Ronnie to open his copybook and to begin the exercises. Ronnie replies angrily, "You don't tell me what to do; I won't do any exercises." Sasson does not respond.

The observer asks Sasson where Khemed was, for the latter used to be in this class. Sasson explains that Khemed was a good pupil, so he transferred him to a higher-level class, with Yekhezkel. Listening, Hodi muttered, "Why only Khemed?"

Ronnie, who has yet to begin doing exercises, tells Sasson how enjoyable it was to dance in the community centre where he goes every week. He said his dancing teacher was wonderful. She is "crazy" about his brother who is now doing army service. This dancing teacher is very light, like a feather, and so cute. His brother would lift her up while dancing, and she weighed almost nothing. Sasson mentions that he too is a dancing teacher, and that his own teacher had been the same woman who is now instructing Ronnie. Ronnie looks excited, and asks Sasson if he also thinks that this woman is wonderful. When he does not know a step, one of the teachers there always shows him how. Last week a young woman, about 17 and from a kibbutz, taught him. She had tiny feet, the feet of an infant. Last week they learned to dance the debka-dalona. He asks if Sasson knows this dance, and then he begins to dance near his worktable. Sasson tells him to sit and to begin doing the exercises. During this extended exchange, the other two boys worked quietly. Hodi called to Sasson once more, but this time the latter ignored him: Sasson told the observer that Hodi is very dependent, too dependent, and that it is better not to respond to all his calls for assistance.

The boys end the lesson by playing word games. Sasson writes a word on the blackboard, and the boys then have to use its letters to construct as many new words as they can, within a time limit. Hodi boasts loudly, "Now you'll see how I'll cover the whole blackboard with words." Each writes his words on a sheet of paper which Sasson will check later. This time Ronnie also participates. Time is up. Shimmie writes an additional word while Sasson is not looking in his direction. The boys compare their achievements. Ronnie says he wrote nineteen words; Shimmie says he did "about twenty;" while Hodi adds that he did more than the others.

Sasson's style in the classroom bears similarity to that of Simkha. He is relaxed, is generally sympathetic, and pays attention to the pupils, responding in the main to their calls for assistance. Two of the boys - Hodi and Shimmie - are concerned with learning, pay attention, and work hard and consistently. Ronnie, the third, is angry and surly, and he implies that he is in class only because being at home is worse. He rejects Sasson's attempts to get him to work, stating at one point, "You don't tell me what to do...." In turn, Sasson's response is not coercive, and he tends to the other two pupils.

When Ronnie begins to talk on a subject which interests him, Sasson sees an opportunity to relate to him, and they discuss a dancing teacher they had in common. That is, Sasson waits to find some common ground on which he and Ronnie can interact in a more consensual fashion. When Sasson feels that this common focus is disrupting the learning function of the lesson, he stops Ronnie's dancing. Soon after, Sasson switches the boys to playing word games. Now Ronnie participates and competes with the other two pupils - and perhaps this is in some way a result of his animated discussion with Sasson. Using indirect methods in a moderate way, Sasson finally appears to have interested Ronnie in the lesson. The upshot of this, as it was in Simkha's class, is that the lesson stands as a valid and perhaps valuable experience for all three of the pupils; and no disruptive counter-focus to learning was allowed to develop. In the classes of both Simkha and Sasson the primary foci have been those of learning, in a relatively disciplined way, with a degree of attentiveness, good humour, and good manners.

3. A Class with Yekhezkel

In this classroom there were the veterans, Boaz and Peres, and the newcomer, Midget. As in the other classroom examples, there were no strong links among these pupils. Moreover, both Midget and Boaz, although ambivalent to studies, were at times good pupils.

Peres looked sleepy: he laid his head and arms on the table, and concealed his face. Yekhezkel (who was also the teacher adviser) told him to take out his copybook and to begin doing an exercise in arithmetic. Peres lifted his head slowly, made a face, and looked grouchy. He opened the book and started an exercise. Then he called to Yekhezkel: "I don't know how to do it, it's too hard for me." Yekhezkel looked at his work and apologized: "I'm sorry I asked you to do it. If you'd told me it was difficult for you, I wouldn't have asked you to do it." He left to get Peres an easier set of exercises.

While Yekhezkel was away, Boaz climbed up on the window sill, walked along it, and hid behind a cupboard in the corner. Yekhezkel returned and asked where Boas was: the other two said they did not know. He searched for Boaz and found him after some moments. All the pupils laughed. He told Boaz to begin to work, but all Boaz did was fiddle with pencil and paper. Yekhezkel asked him why he did not work, and Boaz replied that he wanted to read stories and play games. The two bargained over the time they would begin to play games; and Yekhezkel gave in to Boaz.

Midget said he did not want to study. He did not work earlier in the morning because of a power failure in Uri's workshop, and if he did not work then he could not see why he had to do it now. Yekhezkel told him: "It's not for me to permit you not to study. Go and talk to Shlomo (the principal)." Midget asked if, should Shlomo permit him not to study, Yekhezkel would give him a note to that effect. Shlomo said the note was no problem. Midget returned a few minutes later, imitating the principal's tone, "Absolutely not!" He sat but refused to work, saying: "I don't want to study. Give me eight points (of a possible ten which the boys could receive for each class they attended), and I don't need anything else." Yekhezkel repeated the demand to begin working, and Midget complied. When he finished the first page he called Yekhezkel to check his work. Yekhezkel wrote "very good" on the page, but Midget wanted "excellent." Yekhezkel insisted that "very good" was the highest mark he could give; but a few minutes later Midget initiated another bargaining session - and this time Yekhezkel changed the grade to excellent.

Peres did his exercises very slowly. He did not speak, and he looked as if he were falling asleep when he stopped from time to time. Yekhezkel asked him to please continue working. He uttered a complaint, but did so. Boaz, imitating the teacher's voice, leered at him: "For twenty days you stayed at home, and then I accepted you back; and now you don't want to study. I can't let this go on." The boys giggled. Yekhezkel asked Boaz to be quiet. Boaz put his legs up on the table and shrieked in an animalistic call.

Lulu entered the room. He belonged to this class, but Yekhezkel previously had thrown him out for disturbing lessons. Now he told Lulu that without a note from the principal he could not return. Lulu went out, and returned saying that the principal was not in his office. There was a pause. Then Yekhezkel said that Lulu could come back, "but only if you want to learn." Lulu agreed and sat down. Suddenly, after a few moments, he got up and left the room, with Yekhezkel crying after him, "But you said...." A few minutes later, Yekhezkel left the room to get something. In the corridor Lulu apparently insulted him, for he ran downstairs to get the principal. The principal came up and asked Lulu what he had said. Lulu insisted that he had said nothing. Yekhezkel gave his version to the principal. During his story he said four times, in a "desperate voice" (so it seemed to the observer): "I'm not his friend." Lulu continued to maintain that he had said nothing. Yekhezkel went into the classroom and asked if anyone had heard anything, even a word which Lulu had uttered. All the boys shook their heads. After a few moments more, Yekhezkel returned to the classroom.

While he was out Boaz had found a large Purim mask in the cupboard and put it on. Yekhezkel told him to take it off. Boaz asked what it was for, and Yekhezkel explained this to him. Boaz took off the mask and shrieked again. Meanwhile, Midget had said, in a taunting tone, to Peres: "Up your sister's ass, chicken." Peres scowled and came over to Midget's table, as if prepared to hit him. Yekhezkel asked him to sit down; and admonished Midget not to make any comments about parents, brothers, or sisters, for: "If he says something about your mother, wouldn't you be angry?" Midget replied pithily, "Balls." Peres thought Midget was making fun of his father, and again got up to hit him. Yekhezkel asked Midget: "Why are you doing it? I asked you not to do it." Midget smirked at Peres: "I said 'balls.' Is that the name of your father?" Peres sat down again.

As Midget and Peres exchanged words and threats, Boaz drew a naked woman, with breasts and vagina, on the blackboard. Under it he wrote the name of the observer. He erased the drawing before Yekhezkel's attention was drawn to the blackboard. Yekhezkel told him to sit down and to open his copybook. Boaz refused. Yekhezkel approached and order him to do it. Again Boaz refused. Yekhezkel slapped him across the face and, in a high nervous-sounding voice, told him to get out of the classroom. Boaz feinted a blow to Yekhezkel's throat and left. He did not appear upset.

According to the observer, the next ten minutes, when Boaz was out of the room, was the only period of serious study during the lesson. Midget and Peres took turns reading: Midget with dramatic flair, Peres fluently. Yekhezkel discussed the text with them; and Midget talked about a horse he wanted to buy, but did not know where to keep: perhaps in the bathroom (since they had two), for in the yard the horse might be stolen. Unasked, Charlie, Coco, and Motti came into the class and started joking with Midget. Charlie in particular refused to leave, and Yekhezkel struggled verbally with him for a few minutes before he and the two others left. Midget continued to talk about a bicycle he wanted but had only 40 pounds to spend. He asked if Yekhezkel would accompany him to the police public auction and help him buy a second-hand bike. In an amazed tone he told of a rich man he knew who had four sons, each of whom had his own bicycle.

Boaz re-entered, Yekhezkel appeared flustered, paused to think, and told him: "You can sit in your place, but only if you really want to study." Boaz sat. Yekhezkel asked why he did not open his book. Boaz replied that he liked geometry, but not reading. Exasperated, Yekhezkel chided: "With you everything's upside down. When everybody does arithmetic you want to read, and when everybody reads, you want to do geometry."

Shortly after, Yekhezkel declared game-time. As the boys played, Charlie and Coco returned, demanded to play, and participated until the bell rang.

From the beginning of this lesson, Yekhezkel is less in control of what the boys do. In trying to arrive at a negotiated agreement with them, attention, concentration, and work - essential components of a focus of study - are dissipated. Counter-foci of attentiveness emerge from the behaviour of the boys, and Yekhezkel expends a good deal of time and effort attempting to break these down, and to return the lesson to its focus of study. At best, he only is partially successful at this. In his vacillation between compromising (and, in a sense, being a "buddy" of the boys) and trying to assert the authority of his role, he is opened to manipulation by the pupils. As a result, he is driven to the kind of authoritative expression he really abhors - and he hits one of the boys. His negotiations and compromises with the boys do not take place within a context of authority, within which the boys understand that there is a fairly clear limit to what kinds of behaviour will be tolerated. Instead, these negotiations and compromises come to determine the context of the lesson: in effect, they also are exercises in discovering whether and to what extent Yekhezkel does have authority: and to what degree there is any substance to the idea of a "lesson" as a context for study.

In their lessons, Simkha and Sasson first established their authority as teachers to conduct and to control the content of a "lesson." Within this context they could relate to the boys in sympathetic and friendly ways, for they never lost sight of their positions in the hierarchical teacher-pupil relationship in the structure of the classroom. Like Simkha and Sasson, Yekheskel was not indifferent to teaching the boys: in fact, he was commited to this task. But he left the substance of what it meant to be a teacher, in a classroom, open to negotiation and manipulation. Consequently the role of teacher was eroded, there was no stable focus of study, certain of the boys displayed their contempt for him as a teacher and as a person, and he felt driven to react in a way which went against everything he believed in as an educator, in order to maintain some semblance of control which would permit the re-emergence of a focus of study. Put otherwise, his permissiveness seemed to prevent the primary definition of the class as a lesson devoted to study. As one of the other teachers said, "Yekhezkel could never control his classes."

Formally, he was the most qualified teacher in the school, but it is questionable whether, in his classes, pupils did much in the way of substantive study, or whether they were exposed to the kind of discipline and habits which Simkha emphasized.

In this lesson there is little doubt that the pupils treat Yekhezkel's willingness to bargain with them as a sign of weakness on his part, rather than as a sign of respect for them as individuals, which is the teacher's intention. To use a term which had much currency among the staff of Metro, the boys are openly "manipulative." This was not the case in either of the previous two lessons discussed. Boaz bargains with Yekhezkel over when they will begin to play games: the teacher acquiesces to the pupil, but it is clear that Boaz simply does not want to apply himself to the exercises. Not long afterward, Midget bargains with the teacher over whether he should work at all: instead of insisting on a definition of the lesson as a time of study, Yekhezkel sends Midget to the principal. In effect, the teacher is permitting his role in the classroom to be defined by negotiations between pupil and principal. For his part, Yekhezkel is prepared to accept their judgements.

In his interchange with Lulu, Yekhezkel once again demonstrates his vacillation. First Lulu accepts the teacher's condition for returning to the class, but soon after he walks out, leaving Yekhezkel dumbfounded. When Lulu insults him in the corridor, Yekhezkel's response is to get the principal. On his own, he tries very hard not to take a disciplinary stance toward a pupil. In fact, the principal also treats Yekhezkel with a degree of contempt - for he evaluates the stories of teacher and pupil as if they were equals who contradict one another. In searching for corroboration of his story, the teacher is driven to turn to the other pupils in the class. The key in his impassioned self-presentation to the principal is the phrase, "I'm not his friend." Above all else, as we will see below, Yekhezkel wants to be a "friend" to the boys: in his terms this appears to require the eschewing of discipline, of rank, and of formal role. From the perspective of the boys, however, he is more of a patsy, a mark, who can be manipulated.

As the lesson proceeds, it is clear that the teacher's earlier negotiations with Boaz were at best counter-productive. Boaz continues to disrupt the lesson. Since the whole lesson, from the outset, was defined in a permissive way, the teacher's attempts to direct it toward study have little currency. These attempts on his part are understood by the boys as negotiable. Although he wants to influence the boys by relating to them as individuals who have rights of decision-making, he is not prepared to set such rights within a framework of defined roles, rights and obligations which give substance to the concepts of "teacher," of "classroom," and of "lesson." Faced with the intransigence of Boaz, Yekhezkel slaps him: apparently he can find no other way to assert his authority. But, from our point of view, he is as much (or even more) responsible for this state of affairs as are the pupils. For he has given them two sets of expectations which are incompatible and are inconsistent with one another: to be relative equals, with each party negotiating from its own perceived interests, and to be part of a hierarchy in which the teacher tells the pupils what to do. Yekhezkel vascillates between these two perspectives, while the boys try on the whole to maintain the more permissive and equalitarian definition of the classroom, which places few if any obligations on them.

Boaz is not intimidated by Yekhezkel's blow: his response is aggressive, and he stops just short of striking the teacher in return. The teacher throws him out: yet when Boaz returns, Yekhezkel begins the same kind of bargaining with him as he had done previously with Lulu. The outcome of this also is somewhat similar - for Boaz still refuses to work. We emphasize here that Yekhezkel's problems in this lesson are not caused by one "bad" boy: they are the product of his own incompatible definitions of the classroom situation, and his vacillation between them. It is as if he presents the boys with one kind of classroom definition which he expects will prepare them to enter more willingly into the other definition of hierarchy and study. Instead, his switches confound and confuse them. He, in turn, appears not to understand why, as their "friend," his requests for study are met with opposition, further negotiation, and a measure of contempt. He appears not to understand that without insisting on a primary definition of the classroom as a place of study and of a degree of hierarchy, there will be no reason for the boys to accept one set of his expectations in place of another.

Yekhezkel's conception of his position is brought out clearly in the following discussion between himself and the observer, some two months after the beginning of the school year. Here too he seems to have no appreciation of the consequences, in reality, of this position on his effectiveness as a teacher and as a Metro staff member.

Observer: What is your authority in relation to the rest of the staff?

Yekhezkel: I have no authority.

Observer: You have no authority....

Yekhezkel: No, no, I'm not a person of authority; I also try not to be an authoritative person.

Observer: Also not in connection to the definition of your job?

Yekhezkel: Yes, I make an effort not to be an authoritative person. When Shlomo went to his reserve service (a month in the reserves beginning some 2 weeks after the start of the school year) I told him from the outset that I don't want to take on any authority, but you've noticed that authority did fall on me. But I try very hard not to have any authority. I don't want to be an authoritative person. I want, I, I, I don't, I, I abstain from it. First I prefer not to be seen as the assistant principal, I prefer them (the pupils) not to be afraid of me, I prefer to see things as they are....

Observer: Are you defined as the assistant principal?

Yekhezkel: No, it just developed naturally like this, but I try very hard not to....

Observer: How do the boys see you?

Yekhezkel: Also for the boys I turned into a kind of address, and I want to be a kind of "wailing wall" (*Kotel*) and not an authoritative person. I'll leave that for the principal, let him be the person of authority here.

Observer: What kind of punitive measures do you use?

Yekhezkel: Very little. I try to come to an understanding with them (the pupils), to talk, to explain, to influence.

Observer: Does it happen that you'll send a boy home because of his behaviour?

Yekhezkel: Yes,it happens, but always arranged together with the principal...if a boy runs off, we're not responsible.

Observer: You're not responsible for him? Don't you have to tell the probation officer or the truant officer?

Yekhezkel: Yes, if he runs off a lot, we have to announce it; but if he leaves at 12 when he should remain until 1; no, we keep watch, we shout, we guard, as much as possible....

Observer: If a boy here starts to smash up the chairs, would you deal with him?

Yekhezkel: The principal will deal with him. If something like this happens, where there are serious problems of behaviour, he'll deal with him.

Observer: Do you have private talks with the boys?

Yekhezkel: Last year I did, this year almost not.

Observer: Because of lack of time....

Yekhezkel: Because of problems and all kinds of things. I didn't turn to these kinds of things. None of us turned to these kinds of things...the boys feel it.

Observer: When Shlomo returns, what kind of changes do you expect?

Yekhezkel: In reality, when he's here more the boys come (to the school)....I hope, when he's here we'll have a stand. We have...he doesn't just sit around here....

Observer: So when he isn't here, what's lacking so much?

Yekhezkel: Authority is missing, authority is missing...aside from that, personal relationships here are so bad recently, when the boys witness quarrels and shouting the whole thing is....

4. A Class with Israel

The following lesson is conducted by Israel, a substitute-teacher and a student in a teachers' seminary, who was filling in for Simkha, the regular teacher. We include this example in order to give the reader an idea of what tended to occur when comparatively-untrained and inexperienced teachers took over lessons from the regular teachers at Metro.

In this lesson are the veterans, Hodi, Khemed, Gadi, and Ronnie, and the newcomer, Shushan. Aside from Ronnie, the other pupils are doing writing exercises. Shushan throws down his pencil and goes out of the room without asking permission. Israel does not react. Passing by in the corridor, the principal finds Shushan, shouts at him, and drags him back to class. Israel comments to Shushan about his handwriting. Hodi shouts at Israel: "You! Some teacher you are!" Gadi joins in, laughingly. Hodi, Shushan, and Gadi talk to one another. Khemed joins in. Israel passes from one to the other, looking at their work, but making no attempt to quieten them. Ronnie begins to play with some henna, molding it in his hands (a wedding is in preparation in his home). His hands begin to turn rust-coloured. Shushan gets up and looks out the window. Then he goes over to Gadi's table to talk to him. Then he sits next to Ronnie and talks to him; and then returns to Gadi, sits next to him and they converse. Ronnie, Gadi, and Shushan talk to one another. Israel tells Shushan to return to his own table. Shushan argues, but then moves to another table.

closer to Hodi and Khemed. From there he shouts at Israel: "Tomorrow you won't see me here anymore. I won't come any more to Miftan."

Gadi gets up and studies an anatomical diagram of a man's body. Israel leads him back to his seat. Gadi stands there, talking with Ronnie. Israel says softly, "Enough of this," but they pay no attention. Hodi and Shushan discuss a bird-cage which Hodi wants to buy from Shushan. They settle on a price, and Hodi says he will come to Shushan's to examine the cage. By now Hodi is the only pupil still doing a bit of work.

Khemed imitates Prime Minister Rabin, talking about Arabs. In Rabin's voice he says, "We shall bring people here from the university" (This is directed at the observer). The other pupils laugh. Israel tells him to sit quietly. Khemed replies: "What a teacher you are. You don't know what you're saying." Shushan is playing with a piece of paper, tearing it into strips. By now none of the pupils are studying.

Israel tells Gadi to take out his copybook. Gadi tells him to talk to the other boys also. Gadi goes over to talk to Hodi and Shushan. He begins to imitate Rabin's voice, declaiming: "We shall screw the Egyptians in their asses." Shushan takes out his money and counts it. Gadi continues: "This (the money) you shove up Shlomo's (the principal's) ass." Israel angrily tells him to return to his seat, and pulls him by the hand. Gadi replies to Israel: "Up you mother's vagina." Israel shouts, "Don't swear," and slaps Gadi twice across the face. Gadi starts to cry, and struggles with Israel. While they are pushing and shoving, Shlomo comes in. He calms Gadi and takes him out.

As Israel struggled with Gadi, Ronnie pantomimed their altercation. The other boys looked on enthusiastically. Shushan said quietly, "Today I'll give him some (punches)." The observer asked to whom. "To Israel," replied Shushan. Khemed shouted at Israel, "They'll throw you out of here, Israel. You keep away from me, if I get angry I'll throw you out the window and hang your hat on your grave."

Of the boys, only Hodi takes Israel's side. He says to Ronnie: "Just see what you get at the end of the year; just wait and see your marks (on the report card). Then you'll talk." Ronnie responds: "On your report card they'll write that you have a lot of hopes." None of the boys do any work or studying during the final minutes of the lesson: they talk of various topics of interest. Israel stands at the side and listens.

Styles of teaching in Metro reach their nadir in this description of Israel's class. Unlike Simkha, he does not try to relate to his pupils with a degree of empathy and sympathy within a framework of discipline and order. Unlike Yekhezkel, his prime concern is not to become "friends" with his pupils, in large measure at the expense of study and work. Israel's "permissiveness" is a function of his ineffectuality, of his inability to maintain any sense of order in the classroom. Quite simply, he is unable to deal with these youths either as pupils or as boys. In turn, they do pretty much as they please: wandering about, leaving the room, talking, concluding a business arrangement, cursing, and making openly disparaging and directly insulting comments about the teacher to the point of threatening him. Of the five pupils in the room, two (Khemed and Hodi) are considered generally to be boys interested in learning. In this class they act together with the others to destroy any semblance of a learning situation - whether the learning of formal materials or that of habits and norms of behaviour. Toward the close of the lesson, Hodi does try to reassert the importance of learning, but he is put down by the other boys.

Unlike the classes of Simkha and Sasson, neither Israel nor Yekhezkel succeed in establishing, from the outset, a definition of the classroom situation which separates it from the ordinary life of Metro - of recesses, of meals, and of the usual forms of interaction among the boys. Consequently their behaviour in these classes is predicated to a high degree on the same assumptions as it is outside of class; and the classroom situation, in large measure, becomes simply another locus for its expression. For their part, this drives the teachers to use physical force to subdue and discipline their pupils: this goes against their principles; it supports the view of social order which the stronger boys have created; and it seems frequently to involve the principal as the ultimate disciplinary agent - as he puts it, much of his time is spent "putting out fires."

Unlike classroom studies, the workshops offered the boys rewards which they perceived as more tangible. They themselves constructed concrete objects which were clear evidence of accomplishment. Moreover, certain of these objects were portable: they could be taken out of the school and shown to family members and to neighbourhood peers to prove the capabilities of these boys. Moreover, working at a craft lent a sense of continuity to the ways in which these boys perceived their life-lines: they expected to work in the future in skilled occupations, in jobs where they would earn a living working with their hands. In fact, far from simply wandering around the streets or hanging out on streetcorners when they were not in school, at least fifteen of the pupils had some kind of job. They were interested in earning money, and many of them were also concerned to learn a trade which would stand them in good stead in the future. This reality ran counter to the position taken by the staff of Metro: to wit, as long as many of these boys were not within an educational framework, and were not supervised closely by their families, they would spend their time on the street, and there they would be exposed to untoward influences and pressures which would lead them directly or indirectly into troublesome and often dishonest byways.

Of the thirty-two boys who passed through Metro during the school year, only eight were on probation or had records of probation. Four were veterans and four newcomers. The veterans -

Snake, Coco, Chico, and Dudu - were all prominent in the veterans' cluster. Of the four newcomers, only Motti was prominent in the newcomers' cluster. More to the point here, of the fifteen boys who worked at various jobs, only three were probationers. Thus there may have been a significant distinction between those boys who spend a goodly part of their free time in part-time work and those who fit more clearly into the category of street-kids. Of those who worked, only one was employed by a skilled worker (a glazier). Two others were employed occasionally by a plumber and by an auto mechanic. Most of the others worked for merchandisers of some sort: selling flowers, selling nuts, or selling food, juice or sweets. Others were delivery boys, cleaning boys, porters, or gardeners.

Even though such jobs had little to do directly with the carpentry or metal-work learned in Metro, the boys were better able to make the connection between manual work and earning a living, than they were able to make between classroom work and earning money. Shopwork in Metro pointed more clearly to the fulfillment of expectations about learning some kind of skilled trade in the future. In general, the boys were more taken with shop-work than with studies; and they were interested more in showing their worth and accomplishments in the shop than they were in the classroom. But, although the motivation of many of the boys was higher in the shop than in the classroom, in the shop they were faced with greater indifference on the part of two of the three instructors, with a minimal degree of attention to their efforts, and with more lax discipline.

5. A Lesson With Amos

We will discuss briefly one carpentry lesson with Amos, for he was neither the most nor the least proficient of the instructors. Present at this lesson were the newcomers, Motti, Shaul, Marco, Shimmie, and one boy who had more recently arrived in Metro, Avi.

Throughout the two hours that the observer was present, Shimmie did no work; and he generally was ignored by Amos. A few minutes after the beginning of the lesson, Shaul disappeared outside (the entrances to the workshops were located at the back of the building). The observer asked Amos where Shaul had gone, and Amos replied, "He went to smoke probably." Marco piped up, "Sure, he went to smoke; he's a criminal." Amos asked Marco, "And you? You smoke too, don't you?" Marco replied sarcastically, "Really? Do I smoke?"

Motti fluttered around Marco's worktable, and occasionally went back to measuring and cutting lengths of wood. When he did this incorrectly, Amos, who was passing by, shouted at him angrily: "Why are you so stupid? Why don't you understand what I say? You are stupid, you are!"

Marco was putting together a toy game, working energetically. When he finished a stage he showed it to Amos, who was sitting in a corner, reading a newspaper. Amos commented that the work was done poorly: the nails had been hammered in too deeply and the wood had split in places. He told Marco to redo it, adding: "Why can't you do anything the way I tell you to?" Marco reacted angrily, raising his fist as if he wanted to strike out, and shouting: "Why should I do it again from the beginning? Am I crazy to do it again after I almost finished?" Amos paused, shrugged, and told him to go ahead to the next stage.

Motti, Marco, and Shaul went outside, to smoke. Amos read his newspaper and did not react to their absence. After some ten minutes, Motti and Marco returned, but Shaul remained outside for close to half an hour. No one commented on his absence.

The focus of attraction during the lesson was the toy game which Marco was constructing. Motti asked Amos why they were not given only toys to build, instead of boring exercises. Amos spent some ten minutes on the game doing the last stage of construction. Suddenly he stopped and said to Marco, who was standing nearby, "Like it always happens, I do the work for you, and you stand around and watch how I do it! You should do it by yourself." Then he went back to working on the game. Marco reacted intensely, "Then show me how to do it; you don't show me how." Motti added in a complaining tone, "I always ask you to teach me new things, and you don't do it. I want to build a toy like this too! I'm not going to make any more chairs and stupid things like that!" Amos replied: "You're going to go over to Uri's (metal-work shop). I won't waste my time on you now!" Motti objected, "I won't go over to Uri's." Amos retorted that he would talk to the principal about this - Motti was a troublemaker, and he had no patience for him.

Motti continued to shout that he would not go. Shaul, who had just come back into the shop, added that he wanted to go over to Uri's shop. Amos agreed. Shaul asked Motti why he too did not agree to go to Uri's shop, for they did nice work there. Marco grinned ironically: "Nice things, he says, nice things....They make faucets and dumb things like that; and Uri always disappears, and then he accuses them of stealing things that get lost. Huh, they don't do anything there." Amos asked quizically, "Why are you saying such things? Let him go over there if he wants to." The observer asked Amos why he spoke so ironically about Uri - wasn't Uri a good teacher? Amos replied that he did not want to say anything about that.

Avi, the most recent newcomer, had been working steadily throughout the lesson. Now he came over to Amos and showed him what he had accomplished. Amos said the work was all right. Avi said that after he completed the exercise he was working on, he wanted to build a toy like Marco's. Marco and Motti laughed, and Marco added: "He just came and he thinks he can do what I do so fast? Who does he think he is?" Amos told Avi: "If you work well I'll let you skip exercises; but first you'll have to build a ladder."

Marco finished working on the toy game. He and the other boys there played with it. Amos said to Motti: "And you say that Marco doesn't know how to work?" Marco looked proud. He asked if Amos would show the game to the principal. Amos demurred, stating that the principal had seen many such toys produced in Metro. Marco beat the other boys: he said he would take the game back to his neighbourhood and beat all the boys there. He appeared excited.

Amos' style of working with his pupils differs significantly from that of any of the regular teachers. They, whatever their difficulties, are committed not only to the teaching of practical skills, but also to the imparting of norms and habits of behaviour. The boys come and go as they please: he does not remark on their absences, even when one is gone for a comparatively lengthy period, and even when he is quite certain that in part they spend their time outside smoking. Unlike the teachers, he himself spends much of the time sitting at his table in a corner, reading the newspaper, and waiting for the boys to come to him with their work. He does not hesitate to call them "stupid" when they err, but he rarely is prepared to explain them how, as many times as is necessary, to work correctly. When Marco, working on his game, refuses to correct a serious mistake, Amos seems to shrug mentally, and lets him continue, the error uncorrected. Although later he works himself on the game, and compliments Marco on its completion, he sees no reason to have it shown to the principal, even though Marco does seem to want to impress the latter. His solution for boys he sees as troublemakers (e.g. Motti) is to transfer them to another shop. Furthermore, he does not object when Shaul says he will join Motti. Ultimately, such problems are the principal's, but Amos makes little effort to solve them first.

Amos' style is largely one of indifference: idiomatically, he is "going through the motions" of teaching, but there is little substance to his efforts. Although we saw no evidence of his striking the boys, they (for example, Yossi) sometimes accused him of this. Still, it is difficult to evaluate such hearsay. More to the point here, he frequently was accused of spending his time listening to the radio and not teaching. On one occasion, Midget claimed that Amos would spend time playing checkers with the boys, during class.

In this regard, the case of Arye is instructive. An aggressive newcomer and one of the cluster of newcomers, he was a mediocre pupil. But, a number of times he told Simkha how much he was interested in learning how to work. He was placed in Amos' workshop. On his experience there, Arye stated: "But he (Amos) sits and reads. And when I went to talk to him, he wouldn't talk to me (about exercises) until he finished his newspaper. And if I disturb him, he throws something at me. Or he tells me to beat it. So what should I do? And if I explain it to him, he shouts at me all the time. So I don't want to be with him. I don't want to work." Simkha added: "So instead of going to work (in the workshop), he (Arye) would sit around for two or three hours. This kind of boy, he's 'broken' (fed up). He's become a whiner. He always has complaints. Afterward, this is also expressed in class."

Amos himself maintained that he had to be so "permissive" because it was difficult to attract pupils to Metro: therefore the staff had to lean over backward to hold onto the pupils who were in the school. He summed up his position, pithily, in the following comment to the observer: "If one of them (boys) comes and makes pee-pee in my mouth, I can't do anything."

Like the teacher, Simkha, the principal felt that Amos was a poor instructor, one who responded to the boys in anger. He expressed his views, as follows, in a talk with the observer.

Principal: He knows how to work properly, but he's not a good instructor. In other words, he gets angry at them (the pupils) and makes the trade distasteful to the boys. So the boys, when they're in his shop, it's only because of the authority of the framework - otherwise they wouldn't stay there a single day.

Observer: They (the pupils) claim that they don't learn anything from him.

Principal: That's true, because whatever they could have learned, he explains to them in anger, and so it's associated with his anger. All it takes is for a boy not to cut exactly on the line - he forgets that he's only a kid and he behaves with him as if....Look, what was it you said before: what criteria should we have for accepting an instructor? Unfortunately, let's put it this way: he's good for being independent (working for himself), for himself, for himself only.... He isn't all that accurate in his work; he can demand of the boys far more accuracy than he himself is capable of producing, and that's why the kids really claim that they don't learn anything from him....The kids do learn some things, but it may be that their feeling with regard to Hosea (the other carpentry instructor), their feeling with regard to the finished product is much greater with Hosea. Now again, you have to measure it according to whether the boy himself finished it or whether Hosea finished it. Because despite everything, Amos gives them a chance to finish the work themselves, and if they don't do it right, they have to go back and do it again....This consistency is good, but it's too bad that it takes place in anger and rage. It's difficult to prevent this - not just the anger and antagonism, but also the breaking of things, the way he throws things around and destroys their work.

Observer: You mean he breaks the piece of work they've done when he's angry at them?

Principal: That's right...so that they have to do it all over again. At any rate, if I was in his class, I wouldn't last a day there. If I stayed, it would be only

> because of my fear of my parents, say, or of the principal - and I wouldn't do a thing then. I'd just come, that's all.

The principal and teachers considered Uri the worst of all the instructors. We already have discussed his behaviour towards Flatfoot, and his dramatic blow-up during a meal, when he also pulled a knife. Gossip had it that he sometimes carried a small pistol on his person in the school; and he was reputed to have a hair-trigger temper. He often was out of the metal-work shop, preferring to spend time in the various garages and workshops in the near vicinity of the school. The pupils claimed that he accused them of stealing items which were missing from the shop, and that he slapped them around. In one incident, near the beginning of the school year while the principal was in the reserves, one of the observers found Shushan wandering around the street which fronted the school. Shushan, with an ugly bleeding wound on his hand, claimed that Uri had thrown a hammer at him, and that he had run from the workshop.

Another incident was reported to the observers by one of the teachers, some two months prior to the end of the school year. According to this version, Albert, a newcomer, saw Uri give a sharpening stone, which belonged to the workshop, to someone from one of the shops in the vicinity. Albert went and told the principal. In the meantime, another of the boys told Uri that Albert was "squealing" about this "theft." Uri found Albert on an upstairs floor and began to beat him, slapping him back and forth. According to the teacher, Albert had always come to school, and had had a particular desire to learn a trade. Since the incident he stopped coming to school. Motti, who had gone with Albert to talk to the principal, also stopped coming. Both had been absent for a number of weeks after the incident. According to the teacher, the principal did not react to the beating: "He doesn't react anymore. What can he do, I ask you? He didn't react to this. If I was in his place I'd do exactly the same. What can he say, really? There's nothing to do. He (the principal) said to me, 'Do I need troubles? Do I have to worry about getting threats?' Uri says they aren't threats, only his (ironically) wild blow-ups. But there's no stability there (in Uri)."

One of the teachers phrased his opinion of Uri in the following manner:

> A very sad subject. There is a question whether he really is qualified to run the metal-work shop. I don't think he has a graduation certificate. He doesn't know at all how to relate to a boy. He doesn't know! He doesn't know how to teach! During the whole year I think I didn't see any production at all in his shop; and production is an important matter to a boy. It's money. Production enables him to advance in his trade. He doesn't just do exercises...at Uri's there's nothing of this - if he's even there. And

when he's there, he doesn't teach - he sleeps. And if he comes to the school he's at his buddies (in the workshops in the vicinity). He's not in the shop at all. He does what he wants. I almost never saw him come for 8 o'clock. He's never on time....So how can you teach a boy to come on time with this kind of example?

The principal agreed in full with the above evaluation, and added his own critique of Uri:

Principal: There's no work ethic, there's no motivation, there's no desire to make changes (in the metal-work shop).

Observer: On the part of the instructor?

Principal: Yes, Nor is there any talent for explaining things. You take a boy with potential, with a healthy attitude to life, a boy who's by nature...and you give him an instructor who's...how can I say it? Very unexpressive, and as full of problems as a pomegranate has seeds, from a personal standpoint, whose problems are to be found in work, then you've got a situation of conflict between two people: one who laughs and one who cries. And when he (Uri) cries, and the other one laughs, there's no doubt that the one who laughs 'gets it in the head.' And that's what happened, for example, with Coco (one of the prominent veterans): continual conflict between Coco and Uri. The whole time I had to be putting out the fire; that was my role there. I couldn't change the instructor, nor could I expect the boy to change either. Maybe I could've expected it, but the instructor wouldn't let me. So the situation repeated itself and got worse - and again I had to extinguish the fire. And it's not just with Coco, I think; it's the case with nearly all of them.

In other words, there was no systematic program for learning the trade! Everything was spontaneous: whatever came up that day, according to how he (Uri) felt on any particular day, and according to the mood of his home and his wife....

Observer: I noticed that in the carpentry shops the work sometimes was done to fill outside orders for benches, chairs, cupboards, shelves, while in the metal-work shop there was no production at all.

Principal: That's right, there never was.

Observer: Is that deliberate?

Principal: No. Look, let me put it this way: what's my aim, that the boy should study and work. The more orders I have, the more I expect these orders to be worked on, to be filled. Even if a boy works only 50% of the time, he's still done something. And he's seen the finished product, he's seen the completed cupboard or bench or whatever. But unfortunately in the metal-work shop this couldn't be done: I couldn't accept any orders. Because if the order was a bit complicated, I'd have to get the instructor to do it. And if the order was less complicated...there would be days when he wouldn't come. And if he did want to do it, then it would be under a thousand-and-one conditions - that he wouldn't have to commit himself to finish it, that he wouldn't have to have a deadline, and not this and not that. And so slowly but surely I began to prefer (not to accept outside orders). I would say, 'I'm sorry, but my metal-work shop can't do this particular job.' So the things they did do were only very small jobs - whether it was a rack, or an oven grid or things like that, or a grill for making shashlik. Things that were simple to make.... In other words, there was no motivation that would have made it possible for us to accept orders. This didn't just start this year; its been going on for years....And it's obvious, you can't be doing work like that all the time, doing half-jobs.

Observer: So you think that what caused Coco to change (into a troublesome boy) was the metal-work shop?

Principal: That's true. I think it did influence his relationships. Let me put it like this: let's not exaggerate that Coco was being ruined all along. Last year in his studies Coco was at least alright.

But this instructor, he's a butterfly. So he flits around and he's not inside (the shop). We've just been lucky - knock wood! - that there hasn't yet been a disaster there when he's absent.... Sometimes he's on the roof, or he's gone off to see someone, and nobody knows when he's coming back.

The observer brought the discussion around to Flatfoot's complaints that Uri accused his brother of stealing when he was in Metro, and that there were rumors that Flatfoot himself stole.

Principal: Nonsense, that's just a stigma he got from his brother. I don't believe that his brother stole either, at least not here in Metro.

Observer:	You think Uri's been telling stories?
Principal:	I'm sure of it; although not stories...
Observer:	Uri took the stuff and then blamed someone else?
Principal:	Let's not talk about it, okay? You're going to put it down in print.

For his own part, Uri blamed the principal for problems among staff and pupils. He maintained the principal did not "function" well, that he was irresponsible, and that he did not look after the boys. But these were insoluble problems because the principal "is a party member and has backing." He went on to state that, because the Youth Rehabilitation Service itself was uninterested in the school, there was always a lack of funds to buy tools and materials. Therefore the pupils could not be taught to work properly, the shop could not take outside orders for production, and the pupils became bored and left the shop. He continued: "The principal here is helpless. I come to him and tell him that I have neither tools nor materials. He says to me, 'Give them something to do, keep them busy. I want to give you, but I can't.' What can I give the boys to do? To clean the workshop all day long? They didn't come here to wipe floors. It hurts me that the boys don't get anything here."

Hosea's carpentry workshop presented a marked contrast to the shops of Amos and Uri. Hosea worked energetically with his pupils, moving frequently from one to the other, to check their work and to offer advice. When they complained that they could no longer continue, or if one of them went into a tantrum, he responded with patient explanation, and kept them at their tasks. On the whole, they left the shop less frequently and worked more quietly. As well, he consistently prevented other pupils, who did not belong to his work groups, from coming in and disturbing his own pupils. It is noteworthy that, of the three instructors, he was the only one to keep comprehensive records of attendance and of the items produced by every boy. In addition, he developed his own categories according to which he evaluated each of his pupils over the years. His records indicated which of his pupils disturbed the shop and did not work; which were absent, came late, or left without permission. In addition, for each pupil he recorded the number of exercises accomplished and the number of outside orders each pupil filled.

Each pupil received a maximum of 10 points for a daily session in one of the workshops. If a pupil was absent, he received no points for that day. As well, in Metro, each pupil received a maximum of 10 points for each daily study lesson he attended, and a maximum of 8 points for each afternoon hobby circle he came to.

The decision of how many points to award a pupil, in terms of the work he did, was left to the teacher or instructor. Each point was worth 10 agurot; and the system was intended to provide incentive to work and to study for the boys.

A brief comparison between the three instructors, in terms of the number of points their pupils earned over a two-month period, is instructive. During this representative two-month period, Hosea's pupils earned each an average of 270 points; those of Uri earned an average of 218 points each; while those of Amos earned an average each of only 161 points. Taking 300 points per month (figure which included extra incentive points for work done to fill outside orders) as the cut-off point between good workshop pupils and the others, 42% of Hosea's pupils averaged this number of points or higher over the two-month period. In comparison, only 14% of Uri's and 11% of Amos' pupils managed to reach this number of points over the two-month period. It is clear that Hosea's pupils came more often, worked better, and filled more outside orders than those of Uri and Amos. Furthermore, a proportionately higher number of Hosea's pupils accomplished these higher standards of work and productivity, in comparison to those of the other two instructors.

From the principal's perspective, the major criticism of Hosea was that he did too much of the work himself.

Principal: You must have noticed that he does everything himself, and that he compliments the boys as if they'd done it themselves. That's good...it's good when you begin to show a boy a finished product so as to encourage him to undertake the next job, in the hope that he'll be the one to make the next product. But you must have noticed that with Hosea this goes on through stage two, and even through stages three and four. But I don't say, God forbid, that the kids aren't learning anything. On the contrary, they've been learning two things: his industriousness and good work habits, and how to be orderly.

Observer: Do they learn this or do they laugh at it?

Principal: Look, they don't laugh at the thing itself; they laugh at his appearance, at the way he does things.

Observer: Then why do they call him 'freier?' 'I get the money and he works,' they say.

Principal: No, I don't think it's like that, because all of Hosea's graduates had no problems when we arranged work for them. Why? Because, despite everything, we found that they were orderly, that they knew how to look after their work tools.

Observer: I think they're embarrassed, because he comprises for them a figure with whom a very positive identification can be made, but he's a contrast to the whole atmosphere in which they find themselves. He works, he takes things seriously, he does things.

Principal: Exactly. I agree with you on one thing. I won't say they're embarrassed, but I do agree with you on one thing - that you can't make demands on them.

6. The Afternoon Hobby Circles

Like a portion of the classroom teaching and much of the workshop lessons, the afternoon hobby circles - drama, ceramics, handicrafts, and games - also hardly gelled. They only began some two months after the opening of the school year, when the principal returned from a month of service in the reserves. According to the principal, the hobby circles were not intended to supplement the formal side of teaching in the school: instead they were to awaken the capacity of the boys for improvisation and imagination. They were meant to utilize the more creative potential of the pupils, to some extent their need for self-expression, while keeping them within an organized "framework" until 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

Of the hobby circles, only that of handicrafts could be called successful. The instructor, a woman of early middle-age, taught the boys to make items like paper-puppets, to decorate wooden spoons with paint and brass, to decorate ordinary bottles, and to draw. The boys addressed her by her first name, paid attention to her instructions, and at times were delighted by what they succeeded in accomplishing. Her manner was patient, was humorous, and she rarely had to raise her voice to hold their attention. Even so, the instructor quit after less than three months because of the physical conditions of work: a small crowded room with broken windows that left it cold during the winter. The principal claimed that she did most of the work in place of the boys, but this is contradicted by our observations. It is more accurate to state that she caught their attention through her own examples, and that she was exemplary in her attentiveness to their questions, problems, and moods.

Israel, a student-teacher who also was a substitute-teacher in the school, ran the ceramic circle in a small room, 3 metres by 2 metres, in which one wall was piled high with broken chairs and tables. He failed to exercise any control over the boys here, just as he had in the class lesson which was described earlier. For example, during one session, when the boys, who included Snake, Charley, and Marco, were making ashtrays from pieces of clay, they would pelt one another with clay balls. When Israel would try to intervene, they would pelt him as well. The noise level was continuously high; none of the boys were able to concentrate on the tasks at hand; and, led by Charley's shouting and swearing, they made Israel fetch them more clay, a ruler, and the like, as they swore at him. Boys came and went freely. When Charley finished putting together a "piggy bank" he immediately smashed it, screaming, and left the room. Lulu, who had been thrown out earlier, returned without permission and also smashed a number of ashtrays that he had made. By 3:30 P.M. all of the boys had left. This hobby circle continued to deteriorate over a number of weeks, until Israel himself stopped coming.

Previously we discussed the drama circle in terms of how its instructor tried to use Snake to keep order. It was perhaps the most interesting experiment tried at Metro during the period of observation: in the words of the instructor, he "intended to try to activate them (the boys) with dramatic playlets and especially to let them play themselves." At the outset the boys saw the hobby club as a compulsion and preferred to go home early. They thought the drama circle was, "only for good boys: for 'Yorams' or for 'butters' or for 'freiers', as they expressed it. Therefore not for them. But it also reminded them of playing heroes like the actors in movies....Bruce Lee and other karate heroes and cowboys."

The instructor conceived of the drama circle as a kind of sociodrama or psychodrama: through play, and later through talks about themes raised in such play, the boys would experience a measure of catharsis. Their release through play-catharsis would reduce their need to express various problems in reality. He had them pretend to be sailors trying to cling to the wreckage of their sinking ship, or a flight of birds flying in formation, using only their beaks to change direction.

Perhaps the most interesting facet of his playlets was that they did appear to intensify existing tendencies to behaviour among some of the boys. But this operated often in directions opposed to the kinds of group coordination and cohesion he had hoped would emerge among the boys. As well, unusual alliances, albeit temporary, began to take shape. Lulu, who frequently was disruptive of coordinated activities in other contexts in the school, became violently so in the drama circle. As the instructor described this, "He smashed me twice with a pool stick when I stook with my back to him. Other times he tried, but I stopped his beating. I didn't know what to do with him. I slapped him several times but he just laughed. The principal suggested to me to slap him across his face."

Feres, who liked "heating up quarrels," delighted in this in the drama circle: "He liked to see the other boys fighting and beating one another. I remember once Charlie and Hodi fought a very cruel fight. I wanted to separate them. Peres asked me not to. He said, 'Don't, let's see how they beat up one another.'" Midget, who liked to use obscenities, gave full vent to these: "He used to come wit his bare penis to some of the boys, and shake it, and say, 'I want to screw you,' or 'I want to screw your sister'...

Flatfoot beat him several times because of it. Many times Midget promised me he'd stop. But he didn't stop it. Sometimes he cried, 'Come and suck it for me.'"

On another occasion the instructor took the boys to a half-ruined house, where they played 'breaking in.' He described what happened as follows:

Instructor:	I pretended it was serious. I told them not to tell the principal what we were doing. I wanted them to create an atmosphere...to see how they behaved and to talk about it afterward. I wanted them to create an atmosphere of ruining which I thought was natural for some of them, and to see how they behaved.
Observer:	Don't you think it was a simple act to teach them to break in?
Instructor:	Me teach them? They could teach me. Some of them were really experts. They did it quietly. They removed stones from their places and put them quietly aside. They removed the door and looked for other weak points in the building. The only one who didn't participate was Hodi. At the beginning he seemed to enjoy the play, but when he saw how seriously the others were removing stones, he started to pile them in a heap, the stones they tossed aside, saying, 'Maybe someone will use these stones some day.' The boys seemed to enjoy the breaking and destroying...

In such playlets, then, various tendencies among the boys became exaggerated: Lulu became more violent; Midget became more obscene; Peres stepped up his intriguing; Hodi became more moralistic, and so forth. In addition, and unlike other of the formal activities of the school, allegiances to the drama circle cut across the pattern of social relationships among the boys. As we discussed earlier, Snake came to support the drama instructor while other of the veterans, Charlie, Lulu, Coco, and Chico, opposed any attempt to organize the boys through the playlets. Nakhum supported Snake, as did Flatfoot, who fought with his friend Midget. Nonetheless, the drama circle did not last long enough to judge whether its activities would have had any more lasting effects on these and other relationships. Continuously harassed, the drama instructor quit his post. He had wanted to work only with those boys who accepted the basic idea of the circle and to exclude the others from participation. But the principal remained adamant that all the boys were to remain. The principal phrased his criticism of the drama instructor in the following way:

> So we made a mistake - he told us fables and did other things. I didn't expect him to make actors out of the boys, absolutely not. Nor did I expect him to put on a play with them. But I did expect that he would do things on the boys' level, and that's not what happened. Most of it was infantile, or else aimed too high. The middle-of-the-road between them was never

> found. I can't blame the drama instructor for...he works with cultured people and not with people who....

Perhaps if the drama instructor had been permitted to shape membership in the circle according to those boys who enjoyed it, the results would have been different. As it was, his attempts to create a unified context of pretense were always broken by one or more of the boys opposed to the circle. This was true even when he tried to unify them against a visible target of authority (and we make no judgements here about the ethics of such a tactic), as on the following occasion:

> Once Hodi fought with one of the others and he broke a window. It was an opportunity to make them feel like a group. I told them, 'When the principal comes tell him that you all broke it together.' The boys agreed. And then the principal came in and asked who broke it. At first the boys said, 'We did.' But he ordered them to tell him who the boy who broke the window was. Then some voices said, 'Hodi.'

During a period of a few months, each of the hobby circles collapsed, until only that of games remained - but the only game which was played was football.

CHAPTER 6

The Compartmentalization of the Whole Boy: Bureaucratic and Other Constraints

The underlying philosophy of the Miftan system emphasized the changing of the attitudes and habits of its pupils, in order that they would learn to function "better" as members of the work force and as members of society. In the words of the head of the Department of Youth Rehabilitation of the Ministry of Welfare, which set policy and supervised the Miftan system, its aim was "rehabilitation through socialization." To this end, each boy was to be conceived of as an individual unit, with all of his problems and personal qualities: and his "self-confidence," "self-worth," and "self-image" were to be built up through personalized instruction, personal attention, discussion with the pupil, and through the paying of careful attention to him in contexts outside that of the school itself, like those of home and neighbourhood.

Some years before, the principal of Metro expressed his views of this approach in a memorandum entitled, "Principles of Treatment," which was circulated to his staff. This memo expressed his viewpoint also during the period of our observation, and it is summarized below:

(1) The boy in Metro is emotionally hurt. That is why he is sensitive, and suspicious, and also undisciplined, unrealistic, disorderly....Therefore we should treat him with respect. To show him that we believe in him we will give him a role which fits his abilities. We will make him participate in solutions to problems of work and social life.

(2) We will show him that we appreciate his work.

(3) We will give him orders gently, kindly, and lovingly.

(4) When he does something wrong, we will be patient, and we will not punish him immediately.

(5) We will listen to his complaints and his problems, and also to his criticism.

(6) We will not shame him in public.

(7) We have to remember that a disturbed/disturbing boy may change if we give him a role in this group.

(8) We also have to admit our mistakes, and be frank and sincere with the boys as we want them to be with us.

The target of the Metro staff, of the long school-day of the institution, and of its supplementary activities, was to be the boy in many of his diverse aspects. The "whole boy," and not just a few selected attributes, was in theory the object of change. The small number of pupils, the small size of classroom and workshop lessons, the afternoon program of hobby circles and other activities, as well as the provision of breakfast and lunch, should have enabled the staff to see the boys in different contexts, and to have their teaching and examples reinforced in numerous different situations. The composition of the staff itself should have provided different but complementary points of view on every pupil. A secretary (with a half-time appointment) was to handle much of the day-to-day administrative tasks of running the school. Both the social worker (a half-time appointment) and the educational advisor (with an extra six hours per week for this task in addition to his full-time teaching appointment) should have illuminated different aspects of each boy's background, abilities, and problems. In addition one of the teachers, Simkha, was given an extra fifteen hours per week (roughly an additional half-time appointment) in which to relate to the boys in their neighbourhoods, to help them to participate in community centres, and to arrange courses for them there. All these specialized tasks should have freed the principal to act as the general coordinator of the school and of its programs and activities.

Given the objective of treating the "whole boy," each staff member also had to play various roles and take on different tasks with regard to each pupil. That is, the staff member could perceive the "whole boy" only to the extent that he himself was prepared to behave in complementary ways to the behaviour of a pupil: in different situations to be authoritative or permissive, strict or flexible, encouraging or punitive, empathetic or formalistic, sympathetic or discouraging, and so forth. The staff member could come to know the whole boy only to the extent that he was prepared to adjust his own perception and response to the various behaviours of the boy, and to the extent that he was prepared to interact with a boy in terms of multiple frames of reference instead of only from a single point of view. If he adopted only a narrow perspective toward a boy, his perception and knowledge were necessarily limited. Moreover, he then would tend to elicit from the boy those kinds of behaviour which his own perception warranted or required. The ideal situation required a high degree of interchangeability in the roles and tasks of staff members (outside of specialized teaching functions), a high degree of joint effort and coordination among staff members, and a good deal of sharing of information amongst them. That is, in our opinion, good relationships among staff members were crucial to the accomplishment of the basic objectives of the Miftan system. Instead, in Metro, the bureaucratic division of labour made conceptions of tasks more rigid and particularistic, encouraged what can be described only as "passing the buck," enabled some staff members to abstain almost completely from any tasks, restricted the sharing of information, made any joint effort an unlikely enterprise, and allowed the poor relationships among staff members to be used as excuses for not relating to the boys.

The staff avoided coming to grips with a more comprehensive conception of the "whole boy" in four basic ways, and through combinations of these: first, by excluding authority and discipline from the definition of their own task, and by passing this function to the principal (as in the case of the teacher-advisor); second, by rigidifying the definition of their task in terms of narrow bureaucratic criteria (as in the case of the social worker); third, by not liasing with one another to maximize the spread of information among them or to evaluate its authenticity; and fourth, by tending simply to allow the boy to do as he pleased (as in the case of two of the instructors).

The principal stated his general position on the importance of authority in the following way:

> Our boys like one thing, they like authority. They want authority on authority. And also, not just the authority to say work here or work there, but also the authority of opinion and decision. So they know one thing. When they turn to, for example, Yekhezkel as advisor, and he says (here his speech slowed and became deliberate, in an imitation of the teacher-advisor): 'Good...I've listened...I'll check the thing...and get advice...and check it...it's nothing...go talk to the principal,' he already takes authority away from himself. The same thing with Zackaria (the social worker). He'll say:

> 'Look, I've listened to you. But you know what, go talk to the principal.' A situation is created where, sometimes you want the staff itself to give itself over to helping a boy.

When the observer asked the principal if he saw himself as the "policeman" of Metro, as others of the staff described him, he responded:

> I'm sorry to see this. This is the picture the staff wants to put forward. But it's not what I want....I think the staff are breaking all the tools they have in this way, because instead of using their authority to work with the boys, they send them to me; and so all they do with the boys loses its value. All what happens is that when the boys are sent to me, I have to do something. So you see, the boys know that when they come to me I always try to intervene...I always check later what has happened - and this the staff doesn't do. They simply send each problem to me, and don't follow up on this. This builds the trust the pupils have in me I told this to the staff many times, but they say, 'You're the principal. This is your job. Ours is to teach'....I think a lot has to do with the problems of the staff. But our boys respect authority.... But at times I feel that they (the staff) rather want to get

> rid of the problem than to work on it. And my job is to keep a boy here - I will not send a boy to the streets. That's my responsibility, and they don't see it.

At this point in the interview, a boy entered the room without knocking.

Pupil:	Shlomo, Charley doesn't let me.
Principal:	Why?
Pupil:	He wants to hit me.
Principal:	All of a sudden?
Pupil:	He kicked me.
Principal:	Tell Charlie that I'm in a meeting, and I'm asking him to hold himself until I finish.

> Here's an example. If I were a teacher I wouldn't let a boy go to the principal like that. So what do they do? They lose their authority and give it back to me. Then I don't have a choice. I have to solve these problems. I can't say, go come to grips with your teacher. Because then what'll he do? Do you understand? Because the moment he goes to deal with his teacher, what will he do? He comes to the teacher...and nothing, he goes down the steps (and out of Metro)....The boys know that I don't forget these things.

> I check them...to the end. That's one of the things that gives them faith. The instructors don't give that. So, to my sorrow, they send the ball back to me. Every time, I tell them, Gentlemen, you're not little children; you already work here a number of years; you have experience. No (they say), you're the boss. Only you can say what to do.

For the principal (at least in theory), the opportunity to relate to the "whole boy," in order to change his self-conception, was predicated upon a fine balance between authority, consideration, and respect, which most of the staff preferred not to tackle:

> I have to work with each boy individually and build his self-respect and self-assurance, so that he'll want to take on the challenge of learning and working. Here I can make neither an excellent pupil nor an excellent workingman. (But) I try to influence the boys to be more sure of themselves, and at times the instructors are annoyed with this method of mine...I want to make them (the boys) think of what they do....I think the teachers and instructors have to come down to the level of the boys, (but) to keep their image of adults and teachers - to be more friendly with the boys, talk to them, but not let them climb on their heads. Because once they lose their authority over them, nothing will help. They

have to be friendly and warm, up to a certain point - otherwise they lose their authority over the boys.

The questions of responsibility and its delegation, and of how the staff related to the pupils, were raised by the principal in a staff meeting mid-way through the school year.

Principal: Now I want to talk about problems inside Metro. I'm running around too much. There's too much of my intervention in small things the whole day long. You constantly send problems to me. And when I return the ball to you, you return it again to me. You don't take any notice of the disorganization being created here. I know your problems in the classrooms and workshops, but you don't have a more overall relationship to what is going on here....You don't help one another.

Hosea: I don't think we're solving any problems. We aren't consistent in our handling of the boys. They do what they like - make a lot of trouble - and we don't do anything. Boaz is raising hell, Chico isn't doing a damn thing for a year already.... We don't solve any problems.

Principal: I don't know how you solve a problem. I don't have a magic formula, nor has anyone else. Boaz used to drive a school of 600 pupils crazy. Here he works and usually is quiet. I think we have to set a personal example. If a problem arises, you have to stop working and discuss it with the boys. Even if there'll be trouble and bad behaviour, they'll relate to you differently. Because now you send the troublemakers to me and I deal with them, and it helps (only) until they go back to the workshops. You have to enforce group pressure, and not only use private talks (with the boys). At times it doesn't work because of their impulsive behaviour, but you have to try and create group pressure....Give them a sense of responsibility and belonging. We only give orders, and that isn't any good. We fool ourselves.

You don't talk with the boys. You either teach, or shout, or send them to me. You should talk to them more, even if it's at the expense of teaching time.

Yekhezkel: This is already a problem for nine years, at least since I've been here.

Needless to say, during the remainder of the school year, and despite exhortations and discussions such as the above, the principal remained the locus of authority and responsibility, while many of the staff continued to remain within the skeletal definition of their formal roles, whether as teacher, instructor, or social worker. In only a few instances were they prepared to recognize, in practice, that their formal roles should have been more of an opening or a springboard by which to come to grips with the "whole boy" and with his attitudes, behaviour and relationships. Too often their self-definition of role simply parodied the ideas of the Miftan system, by insisting that they were responsible to and for the boys only as teachers or instructors - in which case we may ask why they continued to be employed in such a framework of special education, with its small size and its opportunities for contact.

Too often, as well, when they discussed a particular boy in his diverse aspects, it became clear that they perceived Metro in its more negative light, as a "holding pen" within which to keep boys off the street, rather than as a more comprehensive framework within which the perceptions of the boy himself might be changed. Clearly, if Metro simply were such a holding pen, there was no need for its complex program nor for such specialized roles as social worker and teacher-advisor. A case in point was a staff discussion of Lulu, held some some five months into the school year.

The principal opened the discussion by asking Lulu's instructor, Hosea, and his teacher, Yekhezkel, to sum up their impressions of the boy. Hosea said that Lulu would find a job with a higher wage more attractive than Metro. His home environment was poor; his parents manipulated him. As well, his part-time job for a taxi company was a negative influence. In Hosea's opinion, nothing could be done for Lulu so long as he remained at home and kept his part-time job, for he brought these problems and influences with him into Metro. In other words, Hosea argued that Metro could neither significantly separate the boy from his environment nor could it offer any meaningful substitute, alternative, or counter-balance. This view implies, with regard to this boy, that Metro was devoid of substance and was no better than, in our terms, a holding pen.

Contrary to Hosea, Yekhezkel stated that the boy was still in Metro only because his mother insisted that he be there. But within Metro he did as he pleased, was often absent, and when he came he often was an hour or more late. The previous day he left the class to get a drink of water and did not return. Since he did not want to be in Metro, he could not adjust to the fact that he was a full-time pupil.

The discussion then was opened to all the staff members present. Amos said the boy ruined tools and materials, and that he was very nervous. Yekhezkel noted that, although Lulu was very neat and tidy, he did not work in the shop. Simkha remonstrated that, the previous year when he had taught the boy, Lulu always turned up on time and was not a bad pupil. He thought much more could be done with the boy. Sasson agreed with Simkha.

The principal stated bluntly that neither Yekhezkel nor Hosea did enough to help the boy cope with his "emotional problems." They just wanted him to be a "good boy" who behaved himself: but they did not attempt to understand him, nor did they treat him as a "sensitive human being" for whom Metro could be a sanctuary. He continued: "You just tell him from morning to noon: do this, don't do that, exactly as his mother does at home. But are you interested in his life, in his feelings? Do you talk to him? I know you're busy; you have other boys besides him. But after work you can stay and talk to him, over a cup of coffee." In essence, the principal argued that the staff viewed Lulu only from within their own particular role-niches, judged him in these terms, and so made no attempt to develop a more comprehensive conception of the boy.

Hosea replied in a hurt tone: "Why do you say that we don't do anything? Why do you accuse us? I do talk to him, many times, but sometimes it's difficult. He doesn't want to listen to me, he doesn't want to talk about his problems at home. How can I communicate with him?"

The principal suggested a more indirect and time-consuming approach: first to get the boy to talk and then to lead him to focus on more problematic areas. "It's natural that he'll try to play the man, the rigid and tough guy, and I don't say that you should talk about his problems. Talk about football, about his job, about general subjects. I'm sure thi'll help him, because he does want to stay here. Only today, when he talked, he said: 'Shlomo, believe me that I'm influenced by all these bad boys, by Charlie and by Chico and Coco. Before I ever came to Metro did I play pool? Did I know how to play such games?'"

The principal appeared to suggest that, within the context of Metro, the staff had to find a way of relating to the boy in ways which at least temporarily would hold in abeyance influences like that of his home. Only then did Metro have a chance of working on the boy's attitudes and behaviour. He added that one of the staff, perhaps the social worker, would have to pay attention to the boy in a more comprehensive way. Sasson suggested that perhaps one of the staff could invite the boy home for a shabbat, and get to know him better that way: he appeared to imply that either Lulu's teacher or instructor would be the best candidates, since they saw him most frequently. But his teacher, Yekhezkel, suggested in turn that it was the principal who really should give the boy special care and invite him home. This appeared consistent with Yekhezkel's desire to avoid the taking on of authority (and one may add, of "responsibility"). This the principal refused to do: instead of working out an equitable division of labour on this and other issues, he was expected again to solve the problem by himself. The meeting broke up on this note. After this, the social worker did make a visit to Lulu's home. He concluded that, with the boy's father out of the house, Lulu was "searching for a male figure to identify with"; and that somehow the boy's older brother had avoided this bind. Until he left Metro after Pesakh, to go to work full-time, little more was done with or for Lulu, although one might well presume that Metro was replete with adult male figures with which Lulu could have "identified."

Given the hypothetically comprehensive approach of Metro to its pupils, seeing and learning about them outside the context of the school itself was crucial to the enterprise. Here, as well, no satisfactory division of labour or of responsibility, to saying nothing of the transmission of information, was established. The pupil was carved up among different roles and agencies, in a fashion which accorded with the bureaucratic structure of the school: but this made any overall visualization and evaluation of the "whole boy" at best unarticulated and at worst unlikely.

The social worker defined his task to include the home environment of the pupil, and any problems which resulted thereof, but to exclude virtually all other activities of the boy. But if representatives of any other social agencies (probation officers, street or youth workers, local social workers) already were dealing with the families concerned, he relied upon them for information and rarely made his own visits to these households. But the information and interpretation of concern to Metro was not necessarily identical to that desired by other agencies. As well, such information was not always passed on to the Metro social worker. Therefore the number of families of boys which were well-known to the Metro staff was limited; and the tendency of the social worker was to wait until a household became known as problematic before actually visiting it himself. We should note also that he favoured explanations of family situations which were psychologistic and particularistic; and he favoured such terminology as "manipulative parents and children," or "identification with male figures," which was not necessarily the most instructive viewpoint to an understanding of the various contexts in which the boys lived, but which fit both the limited kinds of information he had available and the kind of professional training he had received.

The social worker enunciated his position on home visits on numerous occasions. With regard to one boy, he stated: "I didn't make a house call because all topics relating to the home were the responsibility of the probation officer." In connection to the problems of another boy, he said: "I didn't go to the neighbourhood to find out....I told you that with regard to house calls and parents, that's the probation officer's business." The following excerpt of conversation indicates first, that the social worker might well not have pertinent information about a boy; second, that he was not informed by another agency;

and third, that if a boy said he did not want home visits, there was a strong tendency to comply with his wishes, regardless of significant information which then would not come to light.

Observer: Did you know that he asked for work from his probation officer?

Social Worker: No. I had no idea.

Observer: I saw him wandering around there (the probation office).

Social Worker: I received no report on the subject....Maybe he feels he has better contact with the Probation Service - so he went directly there. But I suggested to him several times that he come and see me.

Observer: Did you visit him at home?

Social Worker: No. I didn't intend to visit him at home before this, because....And if he doesn't come here, maybe he doesn't want to see me. I don't want to impose myself on him.

The additional hours of work which the teacher-advisor received were intended for the educational evaluation of teaching programs, materials, and pupils, and occasionally for private lessons in the case of especially poor students. Although the performance of the pupils was often said to be due to outside factors, particularly those of the home environment, the teacher-advisor did not make home visits, in part because this was seen as the domain of the social worker. This is brought out in the following conversation.

Observer:	What's your connection to the families of the boys? the parents?
Yekhezkel:	None.
Observer:	And you don't try to do house visits?
Yekhezkel:	No, I try not to. That's social work.
Observer:	Why?
Yekhezkel:	I don't want to go into his (the social worker's) affairs. Because I have very few hours. After all, advising here is only six hours. The rest are within the educational framework...and not for personal talks....I ask the parents to come for talks, but here, not there.
Observer:	And then what are these talks based on? What's the background to your calling them?

Yekhezkel: Eehhh, the background is the problem, the boy's problem. The same background that leads the social worker to call them, or, or....

Observer: And what if the boy doesn't succeed in his studies, would you call them for that?

Yekhezkel: If the boy doesn't succeed in his studies eehhh, I don't know, no....

Observer: You haven't any division....

Yekhezkel: No, no, we don't try to work according to 'halakha,' it's not, we try not to...

Whether he did not want to encroach on the social worker's domain or because he was reluctant to ask parents to see him in Metro, the teacher-advisor had little or no contact with the households of pupils. Sometimes this resulted in a boy falling between experts, who then had to rely wholly for information on the goodwill and cooperation of other agencies, as in the following brief example, toward the end of the school year.

Observer: By the way, what about Seeds? I haven't seen him here for a long time.

Yekhezkel: I don't know, someone beat him up when I was in the reserves.

Observer: Did someone visit him at home?

Yekhezkel: The probation officer.

The teacher-advisor had no contact with the parents of boys, since this was defined as the domain of the social worker. In turn, the social worker had little or no contact with households which were being dealt with by other agencies not affiliated formally to Metro. Moreover, Simkha, who followed up boys in their neighbourhoods and community centres, would not enter a home, since once again this was the domain of the social worker. Most disturbing of all, this kind of compartmentalization of the boy took place in a context, that of Metro, where virtually all the staff placed the primary blame for the "psychological" problems and misbehaviour of the pupil on his home environment, and particularly on his parents. But their knowledge of these home environments was haphazard, fragmented, often second or third-hand and, at times, incorrect.

In the discussion below between the social worker and the teacher-advisor, the following points are brought out clearly: the social worker's insistence on a bureaucratic definition of his tasks; his unwillingness to act more directly on behalf of the best interests of a pupil through the bypassing of a bureaucratic regimen; and the absence of information on the boy's household, which is necessary to such bureaucratic procedures. The social worker behaves more like an official in a municipal public welfare agency, than he does as a therapeutic agent employed for such purposes in a framework of special education.

Toward the end of the school year, Metro, at the insistence of Gadi's father, agreed to help transfer him to a boarding school run by Aliyat HaNoar. To complete the application by the required date, a report on the boy, prepared by his school, had to be submitted. Since the report had to include information on the boy's family and living conditions, this task fell to the social worker.

Advisor: Good. Did you start to fill in something there (in the report)? Should I continue? Gadi's father wants to send him to a boarding school of Aliyat HaNoar. He has a brother at (a boarding school of Aliyat HaNoar). Through this way he also wants to send Gadi to one of these boarding schools.

Social Worker: The father didn't fill the form....

Advisor: The father was here this morning!

Social Worker: He was here this morning...but there are details missing from the form, there are no details....

Advisor: Here, what details are you lacking?

Social Worker: I need the 'social report.' I need to sit with it...the ages of the children, I didn't get this (from the father)...the social report....

Advisor: It's not, it's not so important, the ages of the children. Gadi is the smallest, there are bigger children there, there are four children (in the family). All right, so write a report that includes what you know....

Social Worker: But I need to know the names of the children....

Advisor: It's not so...don't write the names of the children.

Social Worker: It's not....

Adivsor: What?

Social Worker: We'll wait a day or two. We ran after him (the father), so let....

Advisor: Good, he (the father) came, he told (me) ehhehh I didn't have to know (the details), I'm not a social worker and I don't know....

Social Worker: But you can't just prepare....

Advisor: It's already a year and a half that the file (Gadi's) is here; couldn't you see that there was no social report?

Social Worker: All right, you run and you ask (for details), you ask and you don't get. There...is an order of preference.

Advisor: Then because you don't know the details this family has to be treated in this way? There's one in (a boarding school). You can state that. There's a daughter who is uh...who was born, that's it, I think bigger, older than him (Gadi) by two years, mother and father work. Write what you know. You visited the house, right? You saw the house, you saw....

Social Worker: When I was there the house was locked.

Advisor: All right, so they have an apartment of three rooms. There are balconies. I know these details, I know the number of children. I didn't think the names were important for you. I'll ask him.

Social Worker: That ..either you fill in a report, or you do 'kitsch.'

Advisor: So do....They already have a file, the family, in Aliyat HaNoar.

Social Worker: This report is meant not only for when he'll be in the boarding school, but if the boarding school won't work out and we'll have to find him work we'll need a report also for the labour exchange.

Advisor: Don't ask for a report ehheeh just like you're sitting with me, you can sit with him and his mother.

Social Worker: Good, I'll sit with him and his mother. Why should it be a problem....I'll do it next week.

Advisor: Why?

Social Worker: The social report will be for next week.

Advisor: Why? Why? All the reports (on the boy) have to go together.

Social Worker: So it'll be next week, Thursday at the latest.

Advisor: Zackaria...be a little flexible.

Social Worker: It's not a matter of flexibility.

Advisor: If they say this report isn't enough, afterward we'll send additions. But it's already time to hurry it; it's the time of exams (entrance exams for Aliyat HaNoar), the time of exams is ending. Don't be so....If it was a new boy it's something else. But the boy's already here a year and a half, he's here a year and a half....

(Without a reply, the social worker leaves the room).

Perhaps the most disturbing aspects of the above conversation were the few details which the social worker knew about the boy, a veteran in his second year at Metro, and about his family. In the year and a half that the boy was in Metro, the social worker made only one abortive visit to the boy's home; and during this period he did not prepare a "social report," compiling basic information about the boy and his household, for this pupil's file in Metro. The social worker was not prepared to chase details, to recognize the urgency of submitting the boy's application to Aliyat HaNoar, or to prepare an additional report later on, should the boy be sent for work to the labour exchange. His major concern appeared to be the drafting of a proper report, an official document, rather than a concern for the boy himself. His stance in this conversation exemplified a bureaucratic attitude to his work; the use of this stance to obscure tasks he did not carry out; and how, even in a small institution such as Metro, the welfare of a pupil could fall between chairs because of the existing division of labour. The compartmentalization of the "whole boy," and the consequent lacunae in information pertaining to him, were amply demonstrated through episodes like the above.

Although members of staff said on occasion that the present lackadaisical attitude to house visits was a current product of poor relationships in Metro, the infrequency of such visits was noted in the 1973 Report of the State Controller. During our period of observation, the principal had insisted during a staff meeting that each member of staff (apart from the social worker) make at least one home visit to each of the pupils in his class or workshop. The result was that the instructors made only one home visit each: Uri to Flatfoot's family, after the boy had fainted in his shop, and the other two instructors to boys who lived nearby. The record of home visits by the teachers was not much of an improvement on this.

Another area in which the formal division of labour hardly worked was that of finding work for the pupils once they left or graduated from Metro. This activity was crucial to the whole idea of the Miftan system, which assumed that the knowledge acquired by the pupil in the school would enable him to work once he graduated, preferably in the same trade or craft he had begun to learn. It was the task of the social worker to assemble pertinent information on the pupil, to write a report based on this information, and to refer the boy to that official in the local labour exchange who liased with Metro. The liaison official then would find suitable work for the boy. If the boy was still compulsory school age when he left the Miftan, an exemption from schooling had to be obtained for him. Occasionally, the liaison official would visit the Metro workshops to exhort the pupils on the importance of learning proper work habits and on becoming skilled in their trade.

Formally the task of finding work for a boy fell to the social worker and to the liaison official of the labour exchange. In practice, the principal, with an extensive network of contacts, often did this work. One of the teachers put it in the following way:

> Who can find work for the boys? Only the principal. We all know that. He knows half of (the city). Everybody knows the principal. It's no problem to find work for the boys because of the principal. The boys always know that if he's here, they'll have work. It's very important. Even boys who finished the Miftan three or four years ago, he helps them. They come and ask for his help, and he always helps them.

The principal's own view was that the labour exchange contributed little to the work placement of the boys, aside from providing official verification. He expressed his position on this during the course of a conversation with a truant officer.

Principal: When I send them (the boys) out to work, what do I do?

Truant Officer: You send them to (the liaison official), and afterward you get permission....

Principal: No, no, not to (the liaison official). If I send them to him they'll never have work.

Truant Officer: Shlomo, something to quieten your conscience. You should know, you can't rely on the labour exchange, because you'll never....

Principal: You didn't listen to me!

Truant Officer: Wait a moment...I said....

Principal: For heaven's sake, I've never relied on (the liaison official).

Truant Officer: But you send him a group of boys and....

Principal: I don't hand them over.

Truant Officer: But eight boys are going out to work (after Passover)....

Principal: Under our direction, our direction....

Truant Officer: A moment, a moment, you send them to (the liaison officer).

Principal: No!

Truant Officer: Your liaison....

Principal: No! No!

Truant Officer: Man in the labour exchange....

Principal: No! We never did it like this.

Truant Officer: Then what do you, then you find them work!

Principal: Yes!

Truant Officer: For the boy.

Principal: Yes.

Truant Officer: And put him in a place of work.

Principal: Yes, and afterward I get a note from (the liaison officer), so that it'll be recorded (the work placement).

The weakness of the labour exchange in dealing with boys from Metro was illustrated further toward the end of the school year, after a decision had been taken to close the school permanently. One group of nine pupils was to be transferred to another special education school. Another group of nine was to be sent out to work. Of these, five were still of compulsory school age, and so required exemptions. This meant that some agency had to check up on these boys from time to time to ascertain whether they still were at work and, if not, either to find them alternative employment or to return them to an educational framework until they passed the compulsory school age. In a discussion between the principal, the social worker, and the truant officer, the latter suggested that the labour exchange do such follow-ups, for a minimum period of three months. The principal replied that there were no available means for this. The truant officer answered that "arrangements" were being made - to which the principal retorted that he had heard such stories for the past ten years. The conversation continued:

Truant Officer: From the moment that you give them an exemption you throw them to the winds, and not our (wind), not of our responsibility nor yours....

The social worker said he would try to do the follow-ups for one month, and that after this period other agencies who were in contact with these boys would have to take over. The truant officer strongly doubted that the family social workers would worry as to whether or not the boys actually went to work. He thought perhaps that the street-workers would keep their eyes open on this subject if they were asked to.

Truant Officer: That's why I'm saying, don't put the responsibility (for the follow-up) on the labour exchange; take it on yourselves.

Social Worker: At the labour exchange (the liaison official) certainly....

Truant Officer: (the liaison official) can't...do you know if he follows up?

Social Worker: I know

Truant Officer: Only when a boy leaves (work), and he gets a telephone call from an employer or if the boy comes to his office...but (he doesn't do it), not according to (my) conversations with the head of the house, the background of the boy, or with the boy himself.

Social Worker: Just a moment. Don't talk in the air. Don't talk in the air. The reality is like this. In the coming two months, from the moment the high school pupils leave for the summer vacation, the labour exchange has no tools whatsoever, and there's no possibility whatsoever, practically, that the labour exchange will do follow-ups of the boys, We know this for openers. Also, in the matter of searching for places of work, the labour exchange didn't exert itself...so the labour exchange doesn't have the tools for this. They have hundreds of boys....

The truant officer suggested that the Metro staff write to the relevant labour exchange officials, explaining the situation.

Social Worker: He doesn't have...look at reality....

Truant Officer: It's better than nothing.

Principal: I accept your opinion, I accept it because it's a good "cover" for me.

Truant Officer: Also for me.

From the perspective of the liaison official, Metro often did not provide its pupils with the quality of occupational training which would enable them to be placed in the kind of work which they had learned. He insisted, contrary to the prevailing opinion in Metro, that he took an active part in finding work for the boys:

> Occasionally we get together and discuss what's going on with this boy or that; we exchange information and mark it down on his (the boy's) card. I visit their places of employment, and if there's a work problem I go there with the social worker. During vacations I go with the social worker to try and find appropriate employment for them, while at the same time we try to prepare them (the employers) for the kind of boy they're going to get. We decide together which kind of boy will be appropriate for which job, even if it's only temporary work.

Notwithstanding the liaison official's presentation of himself, the principal was the more effective in finding work for the boys. Left to the labour exchange, boys often were sent to employers who were not looking for employees, or were not sent to employers who were looking for workers. Moreover, the boys only infrequently received work which was compatible with what they had studied in the workshops. Of the eight who left Metro after Passover, only one was placed in a job commensurate with the craft he was learning. The others had experiences more or less similar to those of Chico, expressed in the following conversation. Chico had been away from Metro for two weeks, and had returned to see the principal, who was not present. He met the social worker and the teacher-advisor in the corridor.

Advisor: Tell us what you've done during the past two weeks.

Chico: Nothing...I was home and in the evenings I went to the movies, I was at a movie at the (cinema) yesterday....

Advisor: What kind of movie? Would I enjoy it too, or is it a karate movie? I mean, is there love in it? I like love movies...tell me, what's the name of the movie?

Chico: "Screams", I saw it with Lulu.

Advisor: Is he unemployed too? He got a job, didn't he?

Social Worker: What's the matter?

Chico: I went to the exchange to get a job. I told them I want to be a carpenter. They made me a work permit. Then I saw there was written something else there. They made me a 'wrapper'...what's the connection between me and wrapping?

Social Worker: Did they send you to a workplace?

Chico: Yes, they sent me to (name). But I told them I want to work at a carpenter's....

Advisor: Is (the liaison official) in his office now?

Social Worker: No, it's vacation time now, didn't you know? (to Chico) Do you have the permit with you now?

Chico: It's at home.

Social Worker: You should come to me with the permit....Go home and come with it tommorow...you know what? Go now and come back today. I'll be staying here until 3 o'clock.

Chico: I'll bring it to you at 2:30; I want to play a bit of snooker with the boys.

Social Worker: Listen, if you want to play snooker all your life then stay, and don't come to me with your problems.... If you want to work you have to be serious, you understand me? You understand what I said? Repeat it....

Chico: You said I should be serious....

Social Worker: I didn't say that! I said that if you want...

Advisor: And what about Lulu? Did he take the job with (as a messenger boy)?

Charlie: (He had approached during the conversation) If they took him it's only to clean the floor of the company office...Lulu doesn't know how to work, does he? Am I right?

Chico: 'Fuck your sister' (Kus Okhtak), on all of them.

Advisor: Stop that cursing!

Chico: Uh...is that a curse?

Advisor: I don't know, I don't want to hear it here.... (Chico and Charlie laugh).

Social Worker: So if you come early you could get to (the liaison official's) office tommorow during office hours.

Advisor: You don't understand, they have a date.

Social Worker: Ah....

Chico left. Charlie called after him, "Hey, Chico, wait," and dashed down the stairs.

Chico, who was taught carpentry in Metro, was to be given work as a "wrapper." This did not meet with his expectations. It is significant that he came looking for help from the principal, rather than turning to the social worker or returning to the liaison official. In the above conversation he showed no particular enthusiasm when the social worker tried to intervene, saying implicitly that he preferred to play pool. In turn, the social worker appeared officious and abrupt in his manner. As an aside here, we note that Chico also expressed his disregard for the teacher-advisor: when the latter attempted to engage the boy in conversation by expressing his interest in love movies, Chico replied that he had seen a thriller. Later on, he mocked the teacher-advisor by pretending not to be able to distinguish a curse from other forms of speech.

Earlier in this report we mentioned that close to 50% of the boys worked at some kind of job while they were in Metro. Earning money, and the consumer capacity this represented, was important for them. The social worker summed up one boy's view of what constituted "work" in the following manner:

> He has an image of what is a man who does real work, and what is a man who doesn't work. For example, I'm in the category of doing nothing - I just earn money. The principal does nothing, just earns money. Amos works, because he works in the carpentry shop, and earns. Every man who does physical work, real work that one sees, that's work. But me, he says, I'm 'khantarish.' He said to me, 'What do you do? What do you get money for? You just sit in your office and do nothing.' (On other occasions he told the principal and the teacher-advisor the same kind of thing.)

Although we would not maintain that all the pupils in Metro held to identical views, we do think this opinion represented those held by most of the other boys, whether to a greater or lesser degree. The boys did hope to be placed in work commensurate with what they perceived their training to be: work which would lead them to a skilled trade. Care with work placement and with follow-ups was especially important, particularly because of the disappointment many of the boys felt, when they discovered the kind of work they were thought to be suitable for.

On the other hand, there were boys with exaggerated aspirations, who had to be "cooled out," and whose expectations could not be met even if the labour exchange operated with care and efficiency. For example, Danny, aged sixteen, had studied carpentry in Metro, and graduated one and a half years before. His work placement was in a carpentry shop, where he remained for two weeks. For the next six months he did not work. Then, through the intervention of a street worker, he enrolled in the ORT apprenticeship program and worked for another carpenter for some five months. He quit this job and for the past two months he again was unemployed. Then he came to the liaison official and said he wanted to be a "clerk." The liaison official commented:

> I asked him to write a letter; you can see what the letter's like. I don't think you have to be a big brain or a guidance counsellor to see that this kid won't be able to find work as a clerk. His handwriting, the spelling mistakes, his inadequate ability to express

himself, the form. I said to him, 'You're in the middle of the page.' But he wanted to be a clerk... he can't even pass the most elementary test.

Danny came into the office soon afterward. The observer and the liaison official asked him about his first job in a carpentry shop.

Danny: I left work after two weeks because it didn't suit me. When you're in school, then you have a routine, mornings, afternoons....But when you're working it's different.

Liaison Official: What's different? Explain what you mean.

Danny: You have no freedom; you're at work every day. Before you can see your friends or talk to them, you have to be at work from 8 in the morning until 4 or 5 in the afternoon.

Liaison Official: And that's hard?

Danny: Sure it's hard. By the time you get home it's dark out, it's evening, and then comes another day. So it's not worth it....You're at work the whole week. It's after you've had a routine for three years (in Metro). You have to get used to it....It's hard to get used to going out to work.

Finally, we discuss briefly the poor state of relationships among staff-members in Metro. Although many of the operational problems of Metro - the division of labour, and erosion of authority and responsibility, the lack of control over the cluster of veterans - have to be viewed against the backdrop of poor relationships among staff-members, we deliberately have left this topic for last in order not to bias the ethnographic picture of how the school functioned on a routine day-to-day basis.

In the past, Metro was almost shut down a number of times. The official position of the Department of Youth Rehabilitation (a branch of the Department of Children and Youth, in the Ministry of Welfare), which supervised and set policy for the overall Miftan program, was that Metro was almost closed in the past and was to be shut permanently in the present because of the miserable condition of the building which housed the school, and because of its unsuitable location in an area of small industry, trade, and commerce. There is little doubt that the building was unsuitable for a school: there was no play area, the building was cramped and dilapidated, with poor lighting, and with awkward access to the workshops. But it is also clear that poor staff relationships, and the inability of the Department of Youth Rehabilitation to get rid of dissident employees, was at least as important a reason for the closing of the institution. Only in this way would it be possible to start a new school with a staff chosen more for professional than for other reasons: a staff which would be more equal to the tasks of special education, as set by the Miftan program.

Relations were difficult particularly between the principal and the secretary, and between the teacher-advisor and social worker on the one hand and the metal-work instructor on the other. The secretary (a half-time appointment) was responsible for numerous administrative tasks in the running of the school. He was notoriously lax in carrying out his duties, and he appeared to be absent a good deal of the time. When he and the principal no longer communicated, the latter locked the door between their respective offices. The secretary then was reputed to have broken the lock. At the beginning of the school year, the principal closed the school for over a week, partly in protest at the lack of Ministry support offered him in getting rid of the secretary, and in hiring a new one. Shortly after, for the first time since he became the head of the school some ten years before, the principal elected not to request to do his reserve service in the school itself. During the month of his absence, no new pupils were accepted, and absenteeism was rampant among both pupils and staff. Later, during the school year, the secretary wrote to the district supervisor of Miftan, who was responsible for Metro in the Department of Youth Rehabilitation. Here the secretary accused the principal of embezzling funds from Metro in order to build himself a "penthouse."

The principal maintained that departmental and other Ministry officials were unresponsive to his plight: the secretary neither performed his job nor was fired. "There's no one to listen to me. You understand? I went to them once; I said, 'Please, do me one little favour. Get rid of this guy and let me choose my own secretary!.. But they wouldn't do that either."

The district supervisor considered the secretary to be a person of limited skills, who was disorganized to the point where he lacked the capacity to do his administrative duties. The supervisor insisted that he had tried to have the secretary removed, but that a combination of factors prevented this. These factors included what, in the Israeli context, would be termed commonly 'proteksia,' coupled with a reluctance on the part of the Ministry to pay a high rate of job compensation. These factors were evident as well in attempts to dismiss other Metro employees, especially the metal-work instructor. With regard to the secretary, the district supervisor put it this way:

> With him I got to the point where I asked for his resignation in the clearest way, and they (Department of Youth Rehabilitation) promised me that they would do it. They promised me this in the month of August.... the problem there, they came to him, again I don't exactly know all the factors, very senior people intervened, beginning with the Minister's assistant, personally intervened in the matter to find him something else. He

> offered him another position and he (the secretary) said no, I'm not ready to, it's not exactly the thing, and if yes then with conditions. All kinds of stipulations, and it was impossible to give him these conditions. And, for example, no one is ready to come and say, 'Listen khabibi, you're not at all suitable for this job. You have compensation coming to you, 100 or 150 percent., do the negotiating with your workers' committee and finish with it!' No one came to him with this even though it was clear, clear to us in Miftan, that he wasn't suitable. That's clear.

By the end of the school year the secretary still held his position. The lesson for morale, for authority and work in the school, was clear: Not even the least important staff member in the school, from an educational perspective, could be held to the terms of his appointment, nor could he be dismissed. Examples like this were much more damaging to the functioning of the school, than was its physical structure or ecological location.

The Report of the State Controller for 1973 (chapter on the Ministry of Welfare, pp. 467-469) reiterates the difficulty in dismissing employees of Metro. The Report states that in 1970 the Ministry of Welfare established an ad hoc committee to investigate Metro, and that it recommended the dismissal of three employees. It continues, "This decision was not enforced."

In 1971 the Department of Youth Rehabilitation removed its supervision from Metro, and the school was placed under the direct supervision of the Office of the State Controller. In 1973 supervision was returned to the Department of Youth Rehabilitation, "...without any changes having occurred, with regard to the aforementioned staff-members." The head of the Department would not elaborate to us on why it had proved impossible to dismiss these employees, except to say that supervisory authority was returned to the Department at the "special request" of the Director-General of the Ministry of Welfare.

The principal said that every year he would write to the Ministry of Welfare, complaining of personnel problems, but: "Every year you write, and you know that nothing will be done, and you continue year after year to write and complain....So what it amounts to is that you lose your authority over the staff. As for the teachers, my authority isn't lost because they weren't here when I came. I took them on." When there were problems with the competence of teachers, he insisted that he received the cooperation and support of the Ministry of Education (which employed the teachers): "I had a teacher here who was forced on me, and after two years the Ministry (of Education) saw that I was right and quietly he was thrown out of here." But the Ministry of Welfare (which employed the instructors) would not back him: "At time I feel that they rather want to get rid of the problem than to work on it."

The principal particularly was troubled by what he considered the incompetence, the roughness, and the lack of cooperation of the metal-work instructor. Other staff-members concurred in this. The teacher-advisor wrote a number of letters to the Ministry of Welfare complaining that the metal-work instructor had threatened to "kill" him. The social worker mentioned that this instructor had threatened to "kill" him as well. For his part, the metal-work instructor denied that there was any substance to such accusations. The State Controller's Report of 1973 states that: "It was discovered that one of the workers in the Miftan used force against pupils, misused authority, and abstained from work. Particularly strong accusations were put against one of the instructors for not knowing enough professionally, for violent behaviour, and for uneducated behaviour." Although no names were used, as in all reports of the State Controller, the district supervisor insisted that the person referred to in the above passage was the metal-work instructor: "Everybody knew the implication was directed at citizen Uri. Such an uneducational figure should not belong in such a framework, even for a minute." But the district supervisor felt too that those staff members, like the principal, who perhaps would have wished to take a stronger stand against the metal-work instructor, may well have been afraid of him, particularly because they were not supported in this by the Ministry of Welfare. He noted: "Because this same, say, worker, same worker who behaves violently, he's not only within the framework (of the school); he could call him at home and bother him and also meet him on the street and bother him."

The observers had heard rumours that the metal-work instructor had someone within the Ministry of Welfare who guarded his interests, but were able neither to reject nor to confirm these allegations. When the district supervisor was asked about the existence of such a person, he replied:

> I don't know her, but I heard about her. She's the secretary to the head. She's in his office. I don't know if she's exactly a secretary, but she's working there. Apparently she's a secretary to one of the department heads. Exactly, I don't know. I didn't have the opportunity. She called me once and spoke to me about an opinion I had written on one of the instructors.... I said, 'I don't know you, you're not working with me. If you wish, you can make an appointment with the worker and, if you'd like, I'll come to the meeting. I haven't anything to do with you.' I didn't have any reason to make contact with her. I think she knew what I looked like but I don't know how she looks. Maybe that's my luck. I understand that everyone she knows in this office doesn't 'come out clean' from her inspection. Because of that, this is an unsuccessful situation.

The district supervisor appeared to imply that, like the secretary, one of the instructors could bring influence to bear, on his behalf, on the officials responsible for Metro. In the view of the district supervisor, this kind of influence, whatever its particular form and weight, affected the chances of replacing other personnel in Metro.

For example, the supervisor did not think highly of the carpentry instructor, Amos, in terms of his job credentials, his approach to pupils, and his attitude to his work in Metro. The observer asked the supervisor why, in this case, Amos still was employed in Metro:

District Supervisor: Hahahaha, a hard question, hahahaha....I don't have an answer...I simply have no answer, I can't remove him.

Observer: You have no authority to remove a worker from there?

District Supervisor: In this case no, to my sorrow, no.

Observer: Is Metro an isolated case, in this regard?

District Supervisor: Yes. Look, there's a problem when you come to a particular framework, and you come to the conclusion that there's a worker who doesn't function, and you think that it's worth working to have him removed, and you take into account the national features that exist in this country - and you know what it's like, in this country, to fire a worker.

But...I succeeded in doing it in other places....If you come to a framework, and you have a worker like this, you can, you can, you can, can go through some process and arrive at a point where you fire him, and transfer him to another job.

(But) if you come to a framework and, actually, as to the question, are there worse ones (employees)...it's not, it's not fair also to the person (Amos). I certainly think that I wouldn't be honest if I came to this same person (Amos) and said, 'Listen, you're not suitable for the job. It's, it's worth, come I'll help you find something (else).'

And right away he can ask the question for which I've no answer. 'I'm not suitable? Why don't you say anything to that one over there who shouts and is aggressive? Because you're afraid of him?' And he'll be right.

This (Metro) is a framework that, actually, its personnel are, actually it's a sick framework, a sick structure. When you have a sick structure it's actually...do you, do you go 'dafka' to the one who only, who only needs, because he only needs a change of bandage, 'dafka' you'll settle the account with him?

The observer asked where the "sickness" in Metro was located.

District Supervisor: Look, the serious illness lies with two workers there. The instructor of the metal-work shop, Uri, and the secretary.

Observer: All right, we come to Uri. What's the sickness there?

District Supervisor: His whole personality is...anti-educational. I maintain that it's...it's certainly...I felt more than once that I, I say it like this about myself, that I'm also committing a criminal act in a certain sense, that it's so criminal in that I, that I don't succeed in removing a person like this....

In connection with the boys because I maintain that all that all my work when I come, that I try to rehabilitate pupils of the kind who are brought to Metro, and this is the person who I let educate them; then not only do I bring about changes in them, but the opposite, I can cause damage and subvert them....His whole approach, his whole style of talk. His whole approach to youth. All his behaviour, even with adults, is an anti-educational approach, is a violent approach. Aggression, verbal and also physical.

And he certainly, there certainly can be the possibility, I don't discount it completely from all possibilities, where I'll be in a position where I'll have to account for, how do you permit such a thing? There also can be a situation where he'll injure a boy, a pupil in Metro, in a dangerous way and cause him damage, because he's very impulsive.

Observer: Were there ever instances of this?

District Supervisor: I don't know. Maybe I prefer not to know. That's, say, his approach.

Together with this, I know there are things that he, he not just once, that there were, that there were complaints that he sent pupils to the metal-work shops in the area. He was missing a 'plate' (hubcap) for his car, 'Go steal it and bring it to me.' Look at the absurdity of these things....He's often missing...he often doesn't come at all, he's often late, and he often disappears during working hours, for all kinds of other affairs. And all his reactions even create simple fear among others of the staff. To talk to him, to relate to him, because he's very violent.

Observer: I understand that the problem of firing a worker is finding him another place of work.

District Supervisor: With him, that's not the problem...it's more of a problem which comes from above...something that's connected to the administration (of the Ministry of Welfare), to the point where senior people...everyone's involved in his problem, because if you take the report of the State Controller from the year 1972, 1973, I don't remember, there's criticism there of Metro which addresses the problem in the clearest fashion.

Observer: And nothing was done about this?

District Supervisor: You see...for yourself....

Given pressures within the Ministry, occasional pressure brought to bear through the mass media, a reluctance on the pa of the Ministry to close the school without finding suitable alternative frameworks for its pupils and a reluctance on the part of other ministries and departments, to cooperate in this, the school remained open until the end of our period of observation. The staff focused more on their own problems, and permitted the pupils to develop their own solutions of power and order, as we described in the first part of this report. Possibly the absurdity of this situation peaked in various suggestions that a psychologist be hired to deal with problems of relationships among the staff. Thus, in his 1975-1976 Annual Report, the social worker argued, "Already at the beginning of the year I pointed out the necessity of a counsellor for the staff to the principal.... The idea was accepted, but a counsellor for the staff was not found." During our observations, in response to a question as to whether there were funds available to hire a psychologist for the school, the principal replied: "Yes, the problem is to find someone, especially to work with the staff, and to solve their problems." This was echoed by the district supervisor: "That's one of the things that I think the staff is in need of.. .I would like to have someone additional, full-time. Someone who understands the subject of group dynamics." Given the constraints against firing workers, or against closing the school (at least prior to the end of the period of observation), the staff were becoming perceived as much as an object of treatment as were the pupils they were intended to "rehabilitate."

It is clear, from the processes described above, that the goals of the Miftan system were subverted in Metro. During our period of observation it is questionable whether the school functioned much above a holding-pen which simply kept the pupils formally within an official "framework." On this general situation the head of the Department of Youth Rehabilitation would say only: "The whole thing pains very deeply....Sometimes we see things in our country that, I still don't understand it, but we're helpless." But the principal (like the district supervisor) was much more pithy, and to the point:

> I think the blame lies with higher circles. Because I'm sure that if they really wanted to sweep the place out, they'd do it - no matter how much it cost. If they saw that it was really to the kids' advantage. But evidently they're far from this attitude - and that's the problem.

The difficult relationships among staff-members not only affected the day-to-day operation of the school but also wider administrative arrangements in the Miftan system. For example, some two months before the end of the school year, the district supervisor brought together the principal of Metro, Shlomo, and the principal of Miftan B, in an attempt to organize a series of study-meetings between the staffs of these two miftanim, to discuss problems common to their pupils and solutions. In the following protocol of their discussion, the discomfort and embarrassment of Shlomo are evident. He was reluctant to expose the internal problems of Metro to outside scrutiny; and he was uncertain whether his staff could be influenced to attend thereby exposing as well the state of disorganization in Metro and his own inability to control his staff. In part, his reluctance to rely on his staff to attend and to participate may have been due to the fact that they already knew Metro was to close; but our strong feeling is that the problems faced by the principal over the issue of study-meetings were of long standing, and had affected the likelihood of coordination between Metro and other components of the Miftan system on previous occasions. The staff problems of Metro both reached into the upper echelons of the Ministry of Welfare and breached the district-wide programs of the supervisor. The following is a protocol of part of the discussion.

Shlomo: I started to explain, simply our motivation. Ours, in Metro.

Miftan B: It was 'lack of motivation,' to define it correctly.

Shlomo: Right. He understood me very well. It's clear that it's lack of motivation. No doubt. I said simply that since we're in heavy fog, and we'll only know more or less where we stand at the end of this month. But even if we'll know something clearly at the end of the month, here or there, there's a certain weighing (of things) among the staff. And I said simply, I say loudly, even though I have full faith, no matter what will be, there's blessing here. Even to go over things that are well known, it doesn't damage anyone, (but) I don't know, after all, if there's something here (in study-meetings) for our whole staff. I don't know about this, because we didn't talk (in Metro) about pupils, with all the problems that came up, relationships, and so on and so on and so on.

This can be an open problem. Now, (the supervisor) can decide whether to invite us, and you should know the staff will come; or, you can say, you know what, tell the staff (that) whoever doesn't want to, we won't obligate him (to attend).

Supervisor: What do you think?

Shlomo: I truly don't want to think; (but) because it's a matter of two meetings, it doesn't bother me to come.

Supervisor: But I want you to think (about it).

Shlomo: I'll tell you the truth. I said, if you had told me this in January, I would think about this a little, about four or five meetings...simply, there's a problem here of the staff, there's a problem of the place, there's the problem of work relationships, not only among the workers in the place, but also among ourselves, between some of us and the (Ministry of Welfare). These kinds of things. There are all kinds of things like this. I think I'm aware of this. Or, we ignore (all of this) and we arrange a meeting on such and such a day and hour and place....

Supervisor: Again, the ball returns to you.

Shlomo: I don't know what to tell you. I don't know.

Supervisor: Think on it.

Shlomo: I don't know what to say. I know what the reaction will be (among the staff): 'Why all of a sudden; in twenty days we're leaving, or in another month; I don't know what; who needs all these things, right now all of a sudden, that's what we need? That's our problem? To study? Study for what? What'll we get out of it?' You know the reactions.

Supervisor: Yes. So what do you suggest?

Shlomo: What do I suggest? A lecture on morality, a lecture on morality. It'll come. What should I tell you.

Supervisor: No. What do you suggest? Not to include you? What?

Shlomo: I think, let me say it this way, I wouldn't want to take the responsibility on myself, alone. I'd be ready to talk to the staff, to ask them, and to see what they suggest. If it's correct to participate, I think the door's open. If it's not right I think you have to decide, either to give them the freedom of action or not.

Supervisor: What do you say, personally?

Shlomo: I think they should have freedom of action.

Supervisor: And what do you call 'freedom of action?'

Shlomo: Whoever wants to will come, whoever doesn't want to, it's entirely his loss.

Supervisor: Together with this, your opinion is that we should have the meetings?

Shlomo: I think so, I told you....

Supervisor: What you're saying, even if there weren't problems in your miftan, I don't think this is a framework where we should say, 'Khevra,' you're all obligated to participate, and that's it. I think we're talking about study-meetings, the assumption of which is that it will contribute to each and every one; and there has to be a desire to participate, without any connection to the special problems of Metro or any framework....Together with this, I'm not ready, say, to remain silent about guys who find no interest (in such meetings). At least to hear, 'Why? What bothers them? Why don't they participate with all of us?'... But I don't want us to present it as, 'Good, look, we arranged it, whoever wants to come, come; whoever doesn't, won't come.'

Shlomo: No, I didn't intend that we do that.

Supervisor: No, that shouldn't be the approach. We're arranging a study-meeting between the staff of Metro and Miftan B. And that's it. Period.

Miftan B: Do the pupils know about the whole subject that you told us about, about the (closing of) Metro?

Shlomo: No, no.

Miftan B: It doesn't arouse any....

Shlomo: Nothing. Everything's normal. There's nothing among the pupils. At any rate, I don't feel anything among the pupils about this.

Supervisor: It's not a new situation in Metro. It's the same story every year...either we're continuing or... the workers are sufficiently compensated or....

Miftan B: Is this already a story of many years?

Supervisor: A few of them already work there...

Shlomo: Ten years, twenty years.

Supervisor: If only this were the problem. There are much much more sharper problems....Good, I don't think we can discuss this....

Shlomo: Certainly not.

Miftan B: In the same forum (of study-meetings), certainly not. Only if it was a forum just of the same staff... even then, I don't know.

Supervisor: All right, so, so what do you say? Should we go ahead...?

Miftan B: I don't want to enter a framework where, as Shlomo describes, some of the people...there could be opposition from the outset.

Supervisor: Yes, undoubtedly.

Miftan B: I mean, if this thing won't be clarified, I don't say that everyone will have to bang his head against the wall (*lit*. come with his head through the ceiling). People have doubts about any additional studies, never mind this in the tense situation of the miftan, and in principle. The problem of every additional study is that it arouses opposition. We have to clarify this before we decide on additional studies (for staff). There's no point in bringing people to a study-meeting if they don't want it....Most come because of their own willingness. Here is a situation where people, even before they know what the subject is, there's no willingness from the outset, according to what Shlomo says....

Shlomo: (The supervisor) is right, whoever will come will come to participate. But, since you know the problem, you should know as the coordinator (the supervisor) not to let the Metro staff...go into these problems of....

Supervisor: Shlomo, I assime that Uri won't come.

Shlomo: About Uri there's nothing to say, he won't come.... No, until 2 in the afternoon he'll come. Until 2, yes, because, these are working hours. He's obliged to come. Until 2 he'll be here, on my life.

Supervisor: That's A. B, if the teachers decide to come, they'll participate. They won't feel rigid about it.

Shlomo: Yes.

Supervisor: Hosea, I also believe...Hosea will come and....

Shlomo: Amos will come also.

Supervisor: It could be that Amos'll be the one who'll play at....He'll come because he won't feel right otherwise, but he'll express his opposition in the way he sits there. Your secretary we're ready to drop (from the participants)...

Shlomo: I dropped him already....We'll do it on a day when he's not here...and finished....

During the school year there were occasional hints that if the staff had been able to plan and work together, to involve the interest of the pupils, Metro might well have developed into a more cooperative, cohesive, and substantive institution. Perhaps the most outstanding of these occasions was the Purim Party. It is true that Purim is a special time, one permissive of a degree of license in dress, behaviour, and activity which stand opposed to those of the everyday. Within this special context, the pupils not only enjoyed themselves in evident ways, but also displayed capacities for discipline, good humour, and concentration which so often were lacking from the everyday life of the school. But Purim is a time of license which breaks away, to some extent, from the acceptable norms of the everyday. Still, it is also true that Metro was intended to be a special place - one which, in behaviour and relationships among staff and pupils, was intended to remove the pupils from the molds and rhythms of their everyday lives, and to offer them alternative ways of ordering themselves in relation to their social environments. The analogy between Purim and Metro is not that far-fetched if we recognize that many of the pupils prepared carefully for the party, and that during the party they did not "run wild," but instead responded enthusiastically to the imaginative planning of certain of the staff-members, especially the principal and the teachers.

We are not suggesting that Purim should have been the model for everyday life in Metro; but that the party demonstrated, in principle, the success the school could have enjoyed if the following conditions were met: First, a cooperative division of labour among the staff; second, a breaking out from, rather than an acceptance of, constraints which defined their bureaucratic roles in official terms; third, the maintainance of a general conception of order and discipline which was neither overly intrusive nor merely intermittent; fourth, the use of imaginative devices to encourage the boys to leave, at least temporarily, those roles which normally clothed them in everyday life, by discovering what aroused their enthusiasm, and by using this as a means to introduce them to the educational goals of the school. All of these criteria, to a greater or lesser extent, were present in the Purim party, but were either absent or present only periodically in the daily life of the school. We close, then, with a brief description of the Purim party.

Along one wall of the dining area there were stalls made of wood and cloth, at which games would be played. Along the opposite wall were tables for food. In between stood the staff and pupils, in two groups; while between them the participants paraded their costumes as they arrived for the party. Midget, dressed as a beautiful young woman, slunk in, announcing that he was Elizabeth Taylor. Together with rouged cheeks and red lips, he wore his mother's wig and a long gown. Another entered, dressed as a proud clown, singing a well-known Purim song ("I'm a little clown, dancing with anyone, will you dance with me?"). The teacher, Sasson, garbed as a pregnant young woman, came in, pushing his big belly forward. In a high-pitched excited voice he told a story about his terrible diarrhea.

The principal, a top hat on his head, asked everyone to dance. Hodi, a jester in motley garb, long ears emerging from his headcap, danced with Flatfoot, a pregnant woman wearing a dirty torn coat over his huge belly. Others joined in, Sasson doing a belly dance and the social worker, an Indian, uttering war whoops. The dancing lasted some forty minutes.

Marco came in everyday dress, with lowered eyes and an embarrassed look. He had planned to wear a cowboy outfit, but would not say why he did not. The social worker called him out of the room. Some five minutes later they returned, Marco dressed as an Indian, looking proud and mingling with the other boys.

After the dancing, the principal assigned various tasks to some of those present. Seeds was to sell tickets for the games and for food (the money to go for a picnic). Hodi was put in charge of the tunnel game, where the boys threw a ball into a sinuous tunnel and tried to catch it as it came flying out. The social worker ran the fishing game where the boys tried to catch wooden fish on a rod. A teacher took charge of the ring game, the object of which was to throw plastic hoops onto wooden sticks. Shushan ran the electric-way game: here a ring had to be led along a wire without touching it. If the ring touched the wire a light went on, and the game was lost.

These games required patience, concentration, and skill, and many of the boys, involved in the play, were equal to the task, unlike their usual impatience and outbursts in everyday life. Watching Boaz (dressed as a clown with a red face and dress, which his sister had prepared for him) play, Hosea remarked: "Look at him. He has good hands but he doesn't work. He's wild and noisy, almost intolerable. And now look at him - he's quiet and participates in all the activities. I can hardly believe what I see." Each time a boy won a game he received a ticket to a prize lottery.

After some two hours of playing and eating, the principal sat the boys in a semi-circle and began the distribution of prizes. First the winners in the costume competition were announced. Then the prize lottery began: when the number pulled from a bucket corresponded to that held by a boy, a toy was awarded him. Then came the lottery for the grand prize, a football. The principal, clowning seriously, announced that since Snake, who had won the football the previous year, had then donated it to Metro, this year the football should be returned to him. There were loud cries of dismay as Snake, the ball under his arm, started to leave the room. The boys pushed him back, and in mock-surrender he returned the ball to the principal. In the lottery, the ball went to Midget, who carressed it and held it to his cheek. Shimmie planned loudly, in a satisfied tone, how to divide the toy pistols he had won among his brothers. The party broke up after those boys who had won nothing in the lottery were given toys in compensation.

The event was a thorough success. Many of the boys were dressed carefully, with thought and preparation, in their costumes, as were the teachers (although not the instructors). As such, they were well-prepared to enter into a festive atmosphere. The room too was well-decorated, the game-booths at the ready. The costumed teachers mocked both themselves and the boys, and they interacted easily with one another. The boys were enticed by the games, and often exhibited qualities of perseverance and attention, which they showed more rarely in the everyday life of the school. There were almost no scuffles and no fights; and the principal easily moved the party from one phase to another. All in all, the Purim party clearly demonstrated what the staff could accomplish on the one hand, and how the pupils were capable of responding on the other. In terms of accepting rules of behaviour and economic exchange, applauding winners and accepting defeat, the party was an educational event in its own right, albeit within the guise of festivity.

CHAPTER 7

Pupil-Instructor Interaction at Miftan Orangedale

In this section we shall describe a two-hour session in each of the boys' workshops at Miftan Orangedale. In addition, we shall append a brief general description of the girls' workshop. Finally, we shall make some comparisons between Miftan Orangedale and Miftan Metro.

The shoemaking workshop at Miftan Orangedale, whose name was officially changed at the start of the school year during which this study was carried out -- to the "leather workshop" -- had four pupils registered.* On the morning on which the following observations were made, two of the boys were in class; one was in the workshop, and one other, Sami, had taken the lawnmower out with the intention of cutting the grass. Peretz, a small, energetic-looking boy with a muscular build, who had entered Miftan a year and a half previously, was sitting at a workbench. Menashe, the shoemaking instructor, was sitting at his own workbench face-to-face with Peretz, doing paperwork. Peretz was working on pieces of leather. His work attire consisted of a pair of dark blue work pants, a dark blue work shirt, unbuttoned, a white tee shirt, and Japanese sandals.

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* This count came from the instructor; the secretary's list included six names. The workshop had been problematic from the point of view of enrollment the previous year also, with less prestige and many less pupils than the metal workshop. This year, with a carpentry workshop added to Miftan and a general drop in enrollment, the shoemaking shop was very under-populated.

Peretz was trimming the soles for a pair of work boots; the sole leather was nailed to wooden lasts, and Peretz was cutting away the surplus leather on the edges, using as a tool a long straight-edged piece of metal. Menashe looked up to check on Peretz's progress:

Menashe: You're cutting too deep. Turn the last around.

Peretz: I can't do it like that.

Menashe: But you aren't cutting nicely like that. It can be done like that, but it isn't nice.

Peretz carried on as before.

Menashe: Leave it; I'll finish it.

Again, Peretz carried on working.

Menashe: Hold it lower. Like that you could cut your face.

At that point an interruption distracted the attention of both of them. One of the pupils from the metal shop came to be measured for shoes. Menashe looked around for his tape measure but couldn't find it. He turned to Peretz: "Do you have a tape, sweet?" Peretz opened his drawer and hunted around; found the tape, and passed it to Menashe. Menashe consulted with Peretz about the work load: whose shoes was he working on now? How many pairs were in progress? What sizes were they? Peretz's answers were hedged with "Maybe" and "I think," but Menashe continued to consult him as if he were a full partner in the enterprise.

The scene was disturbed when Sami reported troubles with the lawnmower. Peretz dropped what he was doing and went out to help start the mower. Menashe shouted instructions from inside: "Maybe it's flooded! Leave it!" Peretz finally admitted defeat and returned to the workshop. Menashe told him to button his shirt. Peretz ignored the instruction, and Menashe did not repeat it.

Peretz examined his work and appeared satisfied with the results, because he removed the nails holding the soles to the lasts. Then he started searching for the pattern for the leather pieces which were to be the next stage. He couldn't find it. Menashe suggested that perhaps it was in his drawer: "Maybe by accident it fell into your drawer? It could only be by accident with you." His sarcasm appeared to go unnoticed by Peretz, who looked and found that it was indeed in his drawer. Peretz spent several minutes inspecting and rejecting bits of leather before finding one which satisfied him, and from that one he cut two pieces according to the pattern. Scraps he dropped onto the floor; he used his work pants and shirt as wiping cloths for the knife or for his hands.

After cutting the two pieces, he began shaving the underside of the leather on the edges of one, to make it thin and pliable.

At first he worked directly on the tin top of his work table; but after he made a hole in the leather, Menashe stopped him and gave him a cement tile to use as a work surface. The two carried on a conversation about Peretz's mother's shoes, which Menashe had had in the workshop for repair, and then about Peretz's sister's rash, regarding which Menashe had apparently given advice.

Peretz went on working, self-directed, until Menashe happened to look up:

Menashe: Peretz -- you're working on that dry -- it's no good.

Peretz took no notice.

Menashe: Enough! It's not good.

Peretz finally got up, went over to the aluminum water pitcher on the adjoining table, and dunked the piece of leather into the water. This caused another outburst from Menashe: "Why here? Are you too lazy to bring water? Don't you know we drink from that?"

In order to appease the angry Menashe, Peretz emptied the remaining water from the pitcher into a bucket in the corner of the room. He then wiped the piece of leather on his shirt, and went on paring it. Work proceeded quietly; Menashe finished his bookkeeping and started repairing a soccer ball. After a long silence, Menashe looked at what Peretz was doing, and commented: "Peretz, stop rushing. You're going to ruin it again."

Peretz was still trying to pare the edges of the leather paper-thin without changing their outside shape. After a few more minutes:

Peretz: I cut it.

Menashe: I told you! Peretz, I don't know what to do -- if you start ruining materials for me, you'll have to start paying for them. You'll have to pay. I told you it has to be in water.

Peretz: I put both of them in water.

Menashe inspected the pieces himself.

Menashe: What do you mean, put? Look how dry they are inside!

Peretz: I'll glue it.

Menashe: What will come out? Are we going to glue piece on piece for shoes? Would you be willing to wear such a shoe?

Peretz continued working on the unharmed piece. Eventually:

Peretz: I finished

Menashe: What do you mean, finished? You mean ruined, not finished!

Peretz was not visibly offended by the criticism, and went on to the next stage of the work: making a pattern for sole and heel tips. Meanwhile, Menashe continued repairing the rip in the soccer ball. Both workers wiped gluey fingers on their work clothes and let scraps and nails fall to the floor. Peretz glued the tips to the larger sole pieces, evoking more criticism from Menashe:

Menashe: Why are working with that finger? You should work with your middle finger -- your middle finger is longer.

Peretz: I'm used to doing it this way.

Menashe: Get used to something else. What you're used to doesn't mean anything to me.

Peretz went on using his index finger in the glue. Menashe prepared a piece of leather to use as a patch on the ball; he shaved the edges of the patch thin without wetting the piece first. Peretz meanwhile got angry at his difficulties with the glue:

Menashe: Why isn't it working? Because the glue is thick -- you didn't wait until it dried -- nothing! You're in a hurry -- I don't know what's chasing you. Do you need to wait until it dries?

Peretz:	Yes.
Menashe:	So why didn't you wait?
Peretz:	I waited.
Menashe:	Where did you wait? You'll take it apart now and clean it well. By not waiting, you're making a layer of glue on the leather.

Menashe appeared to give up at that point, and announced that he was going to the office to use the telephone. He left Peretz to his own devices, and the bell signalling the end of the work session rang shortly thereafter.

The two-hour workshop session covered by this capsule description contains features which were unique to Menashe's particular workshop, and others which we found typical of Miftan-Orangedale.

The expressed philosophy of the Miftan system is, if not to create skilled craftsmen, at least to teach work habits which will enable its graduates to get and keep jobs in which they can learn to become skilled craftsmen. The philosophy stresses punctuality, perseverence, neatness, courtesy, and conformity to safety regulations.

Pupils in the Miftan system, because they are youths who through sins of omission (truancy) or commission (behaviour problems) did not derive much benefit from the regular educational framework, tend also to be children in whom verbal skills are underdeveloped. Peretz's use of language illustrated his poverty of vocabulary: when he was describing or explaining something to Menashe, he used "that one," "this," etc., rather than the particular words denoting what was being described.

We might therefore expect, taking into consideration the importance of good work habits in the Miftan philosophy and the paucity of verbal skills of the pupils, that the general approach of, "Do as I say, not as I do," which so often fails in other learning situations, would be doomed to certain failure at Miftan. This was certainly true in the education of the apprentice shoemaker Peretz by the skilled shoemaker Menashe. Menashe misplaced his tape measure; Peretz misplaced a pattern piece, and evoked a sarcastic critical remark from Menashe. Peretz ruined a piece of leather allegedly by working on it dry; Menashe patched the soccer ball with a piece of leather which he worked on dry. Both Menashe and Peretz worked quickly, wiping hands on work clothes and dropping scraps on the floor. However, Peretz was cautioned repeatedly to stop rushing. The effect of the personal example set by Menashe was more pronounced in this workshop, where the instructor-pupil ratio was so high, than it was in the other workshops, where the instructor's example was apt to be filtered through a peer authority system.

The Carpentry Workshop

The carpentry workshop at Miftan Orangedale, newly inaugurated the year of our observations, began the year with an enrollment of ten. Of these, three were third-year pupils who had spent the first two years in shoemaking, one was a second-year pupil transferred from metal work, and the remaining six were new to Miftan this year. The instructor, Yisra'el, was a small gray-haired man with a Hungarian accent, who had worked in a trade school for older boys prior to coming to Miftan.

The work pattern of the carpentry shop, at least at the start of the year, was unique for Miftan Orangedale: all of the pupils were working on the same kind of task at once, because there were no old-timers or veterans as far as carpentry itself was concerned. This fact should in turn have created "instant veterans" when new boys turned up in the course of the school year; however, the new boys who did join the carpentry shop in December and January were as old, in chronological age, as the veterans and as seasoned, having officially spent the start of the year in shop courses in the comprehensive high-school. Thus in this workshop the only hierarchy which developed was based on age and ability, with even the second- and third-year pupils, those who had transferred in, eventually being relegated to less prestigious positions than some of the newcomers.

One of the observations in the carpentry workshop took place during a two-hour session about two months into the school year.

All of the boys were engaged in making a wall shelf, which consisted of a flat surface about twenty by forty centimeters, and two uprights to be attached to a wall. The technical point being taught was the join. Those present were Shmulik, a plump healthy-looking second-year pupil; Gabi and Ezer, new this year, small blond-haired identical twins with an identical sleepy look; Yuval and Ezra, new, wiry, volatile, hyperactive-looking little boys; Yo'av, a more serious looking young man, also new; and one more new boy, Shmu'el.

The lesson was the after-breakfast session, which started at 10:30 and ended just after 12:00. Yisra'el began his program by sending Yo'av and Ezra on an errand into town, to purchase a new compressor hose and a new garbage can. Yisra'el extracted a stack of trading cards from Ezra's shirt pocket before releasing the boys; he put the cards under his briefcase "so they won't get lost." The two boys wheeled bikes, which had been parked along a wall in the carpentry shop, until they got them out of the door; then they took off. The teacher-advisor, Tamar, summoned Yuval for some individual attention; that left four boys with Yisra'el.

None of the boys was attired in work clothes; neither was the instructor. Since the workshop still lacked lockers, work clothes were hanging from nails which had been knocked in along the window sill. New high-top black work boots were visible under the new wooden work benches, although none of the boys was wearing them. For no apparent reason, somewhat after the boys had all started working, Yisra'el announced aloud that all the boys should put on work clothes. In reaction, Shmu'el slipped his work pants on on top of his street pants, dropping his work shirt on the floor; one of the twins donned the shirt, the other put on both shirt and pants, the latter again on top of street clothes; and Shmulik ignored the instruction altogether.

All of the boys had completed the shelf part of their project and were working on the uprights: the sequence was (1) cutting out the notches, (2) shaping the curved side, (3) filing and sanding to round all edges, and (4) glueing the uprights to the shelf.

Yisra'el went from boy to boy, helping, advising. He told Gabi to button his work shirt, and Gabi did so. A stack of trading cards was visible in Gabi's work-shirt pocket.

Of the four boys working, Shmulik was the most industrious. He rounded all the edges on the uprights with a file, and then went to connect the electric sander to the extension cord. Yisra'el kept reminding him to keep the sander off the wood when starting the motor, but Shmulik couldn't remember; he kept putting the sander down on the wood and then starting it up. Yisra'el kept shouting, "Lift it! It's going to get out of control!", but to no avail. Shmulik sanded and smoothed until the pieces virtually shone, before he was satisfied. Then, to his dismay, he discovered that he'd sanded off so much of the surface of the uprights that they were completely free in their sockets when he fitted them into the holes in the shelf. He asked Yisra'el what to do; Yisra'el replied, "Throw them away and start again." Shmulik went into a rage; he rejected the suggestion out of hand, and instead began making suggestions of his own. He finally decided that he could split the "peg" pieces diagonally and spread them with thin pieces of wood -- a trick he'd apparently picked up from watching either Yisra'el or another professional carpenter. Yisra'el tried to show Shmulik that even that wouldn't work, because there would still be too much space: there was a good three millimeters of free space between the upright pegs and the hole walls. Shmulik turned to the observer and complained: "You see what kind of teacher we have? He won't even help." Shmulik was nothing if not persistent. He refused to discard the uprights, and spent the rest of the period trying to glue bits and pieces of wood into the holes to hold the uprights straight. He did not succeed in getting the job done during that lesson period.

Yuval returned from his session with the teacher-adviser, and flitted from person to person for the rest of the lesson period. Then Yo'av and Ezra returned from their errands. Yo'av reported to Yisra'el on his success with the errands, while Ezra immediately went to Gabi, told him he wasn't filing the uprights properly, took the file from him and proceeded to do the job for him. Gabi objected, feebly and to no avail; Ezra filed off too much in one place, and Gabi called to Yisra'el; "Teacher! Teacher!" but Yisra'el did not respond. Finally Ezra got tired of working for Gabi and went to rescue his trading cards from under Yisra'el's briefcase. He returned to Gabi and suggested that they trade cards. First Yuval, then Ezer drifted around, too, until only Shmu'el, Yo'av and Shmulik were working. Yisra'el studiously ignored the trading and buying of cards, even when, at about 11:45, the five boys moved outside the workshop completely and into the area between the back of the workshop and the dining room. The distraction was finally too much for Shmu'el, who had been filing away at the uprights and kept asking Yisra'el if he was finished, only to be told that, "That's a good start." He gave up and joined the card-traders. Yo'av, who had gotten a late start due to the errands, was working industriously and without supervision; Shmulik was wrestling with glue, clamps, and wedges of wood.

The bell rang at 12:15, and Yisra'el turned to the observer: "I taught three classes at the old school, and never took a recess break. But I'm much more tired here than I've ever been. Believe me, I speak nicer to these kids than I did to my own children."

Several points might be made regarding the session observed in the carpentry shop and reported above:

The carpentry shop's pupils also fail to show the good work habits which are an integral part of the Miftan philosophy. Shmulik's reaction to his error in sanding is an example of explosiveness which would not endear him to a potential employer. In our opinion, perseverence was not taught; boys who were self-directed persevered, while the others drifted. Work clothes were virtually ignored; at Miftan Orangedale the carpentry shop was the only boys' workshop where no real effort was made to see that the boys worked in working attire. Even Yisra'el frequently wore street clothes while working.

On the positive side, however, during Yisra'el's tenure as carpentry instructor, those boys who really wanted to learn carpentry had the opportunity to do so. They were encouraged to do tasks on their own; Yisra'el did not remove the sander from Shmulik's hands although he knew that Shmulik was headed for disaster with the sanding job. The atmosphere, for those who wanted to learn, was encouraging; the assignments could be completed in a matter of days, the boys could buy the things they made, and the quality of most of the finished products was amateur but not slipshod. It was only later in the year, due to pressure from the principal, that emphasis in carpentry turned to production, and everyone worked on stools or magazine racks. That happened at about the time that Yisra'el was fired and replaced by Me'ir, a mild and very soft-spoken young man quite ineffectual in the workshop.*

However, even the most skilled of the apprentice carpenters was unable to do a complete job independently, because none of the pupils showed the ability to do the calculations and measurements necessary to follow a plan accurately.

Yisra'el was not willing to be a disciplinarian in order to force the boys to work. Neither was he ready to be every boy's pal: he tended to ignore the boys who didn't work, provided they didn't disturb him, and he helped and supervised those who did work. He made it clear that he did not tolerate rudeness, and he expected to be addressed with "Good morning," by each boy as he came in the morning. He also maintained that he would not tolerate speaking Arabic in his workshop, but on this point he fought a losing battle. Apparently his indifference to poor or nonexistent work habits was finally worn down, because the excuse given to the observer for firing Yisra'el was that he hit the boys.** Me'ir, Yisra'el's replacement, kept the workers working, but had even less control over the shirkers than Yisra'el had had.

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* When we observed this workshop under Me'ir's direction, we noted that few boys were in attendance, and those present were not working. We never saw a more experienced teacher or the principal checking on Me'ir's workshop or offering help.

** We have no verification of this claim.

The Metal Workshop

The metal workshop was the most prestigious and most heavily populated workshop at Miftan Orangedale. By mid-September it had an enrollment of 18 boys: one third-year, ten second-year, and seven first-year pupils. Shimshon, the instructor, was a small Orthodox Ashkenazi, shorter than many of the boys, and about 40 years old.

Since just over one-third of the pupils in the metal workshop were new the year we observed this Miftan, Shimshon was under more pressure than the other instructors not only because of his larger enrollment but also because of the wide range of experience and skills represented in his pupils. He prided himself on the money his workshop brought into Miftan: in a conversation with the home economics instructor about mid-year, he said, "Just my first entry on the production sheet surpasses what you bring in all year long." However, in order to achieve the level of production to which he aspired, he needed most of his pupils working on production jobs. The result was that exercises which taught basic skills and gave the boys something tangible to take home (hammer, hoe, etc.) were omitted or rushed through, and even some second-year pupils did not know the names or functions of some of the machines in the workshop.

The session in the metal workshop which this section will discuss was focussed on production of a balcony railing for a customer, in this case the shoemaking instructor. The horizontals and uprights of the railing had been completed, and the trim was being added on a stormy day early in December, during the 12-to-2 session. Three teams were occupied on the task: Micha was bending the trim pieces into shape:

Avi and Tomer were welding the trim pieces together: and Shimshon the instructor and Dudi were attaching the trim to the frame.

The bending job was done within the workshop, while the two welding operations took place in the covered patio area just outside the shop. The weather was windy and cold, and while work was in progress rain started falling. In order to keep the boys who were not occupied with this project (and were not off playing football behind the classroom building) from disturbing the workers, those who came around to give advice were quickly sent by Shimshon to clean their drawers. This was a formalized procedure which included emptying all tools from the drawer, wiping the drawer with a kerosene-soaked rag, and wiping each tool with this rag before replacing it neatly in the drawer. This was a regular end-of-the-week procedure, along with collective cleaning chores which were assigned at the end of the session.

When Micha had finished bending all the pieces which would be required, he joined in the welding. Shimshon and Dudi attached the welded trim pieces as fast as they were constructed. The boys had almost used up an electrode, and said they were going to get another. Shimshon said, "No, we're stopping now," but he himself kept on joining the inserts to the frame as fast as he got them, with Dudi's help. To the accompaniment of the refrain, "Put everything away - the rest will wait -- we're stopping now," Shimshon continued working. He called Beni to come and mark where the next inserts were to go, with chalk and a tape measure. And he rejected another insert which had been welded wrong: "No good -- stop! I told you -- short opposite long; short opposite long. You're getting tired; that's the last one." And Shimshon and Dudi went on welding. Shimshon noticed that Beni had only marked the top of the railing rather than both top and bottom, but after rebuking Beni mildly Shimshon went on to mark the bottom himself. The idea behind Shimshon's example was quite unambiguous: the job must be finished. When the boys making the trim got to the last insert, the electrode was finally finished, and Shimshon gave in to their pleading and let them get another electrode. Shimson and the boys finished the trim, released the clamps, and moved the frame indoors, where it was put along the wall next to its completed mate:

Meanwhile Shimshon sent Beni to call the boys who had been playing football despite the rain, and preparations were made to clean up.

The cleaning-up process took place in two stages: first the general mess (left-over pieces of trim, etc.) were picked up by whomever Shimshon yelled at first, and the cleaning assignments were delegated: Micha was sent to clean the face-protector, Viktor was sent to straighten out the tool room (repository of larger tools), Gabi and a new pupil were told to sweep the floor. Me'ir was assigned the large drill, and had to be shown where it was. Another new pupil -- at Miftan for three months at the time of observation -- was assigned the small drill, and the old-timers laughed when he went outside in search of it. Shimshon told Micha to show him where it was. Someone shouted: "Who'll do the inspection?" And Shimshon answered: "I will; Ziv's on pension." Tomer was assigned the welders; Dudi, the grinder-sharpeners, and Shimshon reminded him, "Today, there are three -- the new one and two old ones." To Beni: "Did you get a job? Do the tin welder." Then Shimshon asked aloud, "Who worked on the bending machine today?" Beni shouted, "Micha! Micha!" so Micha was told to clean that as well. Other jobs were handed out. Meanwhile, Viktor, who had been sitting in his place all the while, did something to come to Shimshon's attention, and Shimshon exploded: "You! You're in the tool room -- sit there!" Viktor: "Me?" Shimshon: "Yes! I told you at the beginning! Sit in the tool room!" Tobi, a first-year pupil who had no assignment, reminded Shimshon that he was there: "Don't worry -- I have something to give you. Do the 'igul pach' (machine which bends sheets of tin into tubes)." Tobi: "What's that?" Shimshon assigned Ami to show Tobi what it was.

Yehuda and Ziv had arrived more than half-way through the session, with a long story about an accident and someone being seriously injured. Shimshon got into a discussion with Ziv and Yehuda about Yehuda's irregular attendance. Ziv pleaded Yehuda's case: "He doesn't come to Miftan because you don't let him learn anything." Shimshon: "Whoever comes two days a month, what can he learn?" Ziv: "That's why -- he wants to work and you don't let him." Shimshon: "First he has to come -- first he has to come." Ziv: "I promise you that he'll come all the time." Shimshon: "Let's open the rollbook and see how many times Yehuda came last month." At this point a few boys shouted that they were finished, and Shimshon replied, "Ami is inspecting." Shimshon showed Yehuda the rollbook: He'd been present six days in November. Nine boys had come every day in November; another four were only absent twice.

Shimshon went on: "Here's your friend Rahamim; he was here seven times in November. You were here six." Meanwhile a group had clustered around Shimshon, glad of the distraction: "How many times was I here?" Shimshon answered two or three of them and then gave up; he went back to the records for October, showing Yehuda that the story had been similar then.

The boy who'd been assigned the sweeping job came toward the front of the workshop, raising clouds of dust in front of him. Shimshon told him to take water to keep the dust down. Then Gabi got a bucket and began splashing water around liberally, while the focus of attention moved from the rollbook, now put away, to the workcards. Shimshon wanted everyone to sit in his own place ("sit" meaning to stand next to the workbench or sit on it); but within seconds the boys were all crowding around Shimshon's table again. Finally Shimshon refused to carry on until some sort of order was maintained: "There's only ten minutes before the bell. If there isn't quiet, if we don't finish this fast, it'll be on your account. Whoever comes to the table gets nothing." The procedure was for each boy to fill in his workcard with the day's activity and points earned. The workcards were filled in as follows: Shimshon: "Micha, what did you do today? On Friday? Write 'ma'akay' -- mem, ayin, kuf, heh. Twenty-three points." Then to Me'ir: "What did you do today? Write 'I sat today.'" The sarcasm was wasted on Me'ir, so Shimshon said, "Okay, twenty-three points.". Me'ir's only problem was the blunt pencil; Shimshon commented, "The pencil isn't good? Like the workman. The workman isn't good, so the pencil isn't good. What did you do today? Write down yourself what you did today." Then to another boy: "What did you do today? Nothing." The boy replied: "What did I do today? I fought with the principal at the supermarket." Shimshon: "You fought with the principal? Did you shout at him?" Boy: "He shouted at me."

Points were allocated freely: 23 for workshop, 7 for class, or 30 for those who had spent the whole morning in the workshop for some reason, usually because the teacher had been absent that day. Although Shimshon made sarcastic remarks to all those whom he adjudged to be lazy or who for some reason had not done much that day, no one had any points subtracted from the maximum allotment.

This two-hour session in the metal workshop illustrated several features which we found to be typical of Shimshon's shop: The first of these is Shimshon's tactics for controlling the boys. Shimshon barked orders; he had a sharp eye, and no one could escape his attention for long, nor his sarcastic tongue when work was slacked. However, except for the sarcasm and occasional physical punishment (a smack or punch when really provoked), Shimshon's control was exercised through a combination of sergeant's demeanour and the assignment of prestige jobs to those he considered good workers. The boys had been made to appreciate the importance to Shimshon of "production," and were rewarded by being allowed to work on income-producing jobs, which also fattened their own bank accounts.

The weakness of this system lay in the paucity of production jobs available. The railings described above were ordered by one of the instructors; the number of pupils required to do the job was far less than the number of eligible pupils. Routine make-work tasks assigned to those who did not make the first team were clearly of low prestige, and tended to encourage horsing around and fighting as well as resentment.

Home Economics

The official name of the girls' workshop at Miftan Orangedale was the "sewing workshop," but in fact the girls spent relatively little time actually sewing on the sewing machines. Although the boys' work-clothes were at least partly produced in this workshop, the girls and their instructor preferred embroidery and other handwork or cooking to routine sewing jobs.

During the year we observed Miftan Orangedale, there were six girls enrolled: two third-year pupils, two second-year pupils, and two who entered about midway through this school year. (The secretary's records included an additional girl, later reported to have dropped out in December but in fact never in attendance this year at all.)

The instructor for the girls, Ahuva, was a widow with a married daughter. She believed that freedom is a dangerous thing, that Israel isn't ready for democracy, that we're all better off when someone who knows better tells us what to do. She maintained that leftists run the television station, and that they undermine the morale of the public with their unpatriotic selection of programs.

Ahuva was very protective of "her" girls, discouraging interaction with the Miftan boys, covering up for any misdeeds or breakages of utensils, making home visits whenever a girl was sick. She reminisced on the old days when she had as many as twenty pupils, and how nice it all had been. She also felt that it wasn't good to talk too much to the girls about their personal lives, unless the girls initiated the conversation, and she did not leave them many openings to do so.

The pupils in Ahuva's workshop were a varied lot, ranging in age from 16 to 11 years, in size from fully mature to little girls. The newest girls, who entered during the school year we observed, were young and tough, able and willing to hit and swear with the boys; one was also rumoured to steal, although we did not have that confirmed. Three of the older girls were settled and serious, ready to have work found for them in a city ready-to-wear factory at the end of the school year -- Ahuva could always arrange jobs for her graduates. The fourth veteran among the girls was less settled; skinny and small, she was envious of her well-developed classmates and impatient to attract the attention of the boys.

The girls were never mentioned as problematic at staff meetings or in informal conversations among the staff with one exception: one of the older girls had apparently been involved in several sexual episodes with the older Miftan boys, and ways of discouraging this were sought -- unsuccessfully, as far as we know. However, these encounters did not take place during Ahuva's working day: when she was present, "her" girls behaved themselves. Their handwork (embroidered wall hangings) decorated the classroom, and they could make some clothing for themselves with Ahuva's help. They also produced baked goods for Friday assemblies.

There was never a question at Miftan Orangedale of letting girls learn trades other than home economics, nor were boys allowed into the home economics room except on business and then only one at a time. In fact, the instructors who sent boys to home economics on errands sometimes accompanied them to make sure that Ahuva didn't throw them out.

Instructor-Pupil Relations: Comparison of Orangedale and Metro

In general the instructors at Miftan Orangedale were better able to teach, more in control of the pupils, and more in control of themselves than those at Metro. Less often was the principal brought into instructor-pupil disagreements. Although pupils might, when feeling provoked, swear at instructors or refuse to follow instructions, they were not seen initiating physical contact of any sort with instructors.

At Miftan-Orangedale, the shoemaking instructor and to some extent the home economics instructor were themselves "self-made" professionals, authoritarian and conservative in outlook and behaviour. They did not believe in unrestrained self-expression; they believed that children should be brought up to respect their elders, and they themselves did not tolerate any rudeness -- nor did they get any, as a general rule.

Orangedale's metalwork instructor was dedicated, almost in a missionary fashion, to saving souls -- making human beings out of his charges. But he seemed to keep a deep feeling of superiority: from refusing to eat the food at Miftan because he didn't trust its kashrut, to a comment "*My* children don't have time for bicycles," he let the boys know in small ways that he considered himself better than they.

The personalities of the two carpentry instructors at Orangedale are harder to sketch, because neither was there for long enough to really get to know him. However, the general level of instruction at Orangedale was probably on a par with the level of the best workshop at Metro.

The geographical location of the two Miftans also influenced their characters: its proximity to industry made Metro more accessible both for getting production jobs from outside and for giving the instructors room to roam "on business." Orangedale, on the other hand, was at the back of a residential area and close only to other schools. It backed onto an orange grove, however, which was said to be a marketplace for hashish; its temptations were more to the pupils than to the instructors.

Neither Miftan seemed to have the requisite manpower or resources -- including the instructors and pupils -- to train many skilled workmen. Setting our sights considerably lower, it could also be said that neither Miftan was even teaching all of its pupils good work habits. However, the anti-learning atmosphere which pervaded Metro, if we study the observations, was less prevalent at Orangedale. And one obvious point must nonetheless be stressed: the pupils who came to Miftan regularly, even when they learned little there, were not on the streets. If there was little on the positive side of the balance, there was also little on the negative side.

CHAPTER 8

The Classroom Interaction at Miftan Orangedale

In trying to analyze what made Orangedale so different from Metro, one of the first differences which comes to mind is that there were no females at Metro, neither among the staff (not even the secretary) nor among the pupils. Whether this fact accounts for any of the variability, and if so, how much, is not testable in any conclusive manner. However, it remains striking that not only the secretary but all three teachers and the counselor-adviser at Orangedale were women.

We were asked by the principal of Orangedale, at the start of the school year, to limit our visits in the classrooms to the bare minimum, because our presence would automatically create an "artificial atmosphere." However, we sampled each class at least twice, and one teacher, Yaffa, welcomed us in her classes whenever we chose to visit them.

We observed the three teachers and the counselor-adviser interacting with pupils, during the course of our observation of Orangedale. Although we heard some few stories about fighting in the classrooms, we did not observe any, nor was there any physical interaction between teachers and pupils. The pupils varied in their concentration span and in the ease with which they were distracted; the teachers varied in their ability to get all of the pupils working on the same subject at the same time; a not inconsiderable portion of the total learning time was spent in "goofing off," casual conversation, and non-academic activities (including macrame lessons for the metalshop boys). But the lessons were characterized by an underlying atmosphere of respect for the teacher which was not infrequently lacking at Metro.

Rachel was not only the only non-Ashkenazi on the teaching staff; she was also what might be called "upper class Iraqi," married to a lawyer, mother of one daughter, fluent in English and Arabic as well as Hebrew. She taught the most advanced of the pupils at Orangedale. Her pupils included Ziv, Micha and Me'ir from the metal-shop, Moshe, Yo'av and one of the twins from carpentry. The lesson we observed started out with arithmetic: addition of fractions. There was no correlation between the apparent concentration of the pupils and their abilities to solve the problems put on the blackboard by the teacher: Ziv, who seemed unable to sit still, was nonetheless the most apt to be able to answer a question with the right answer.

In each two-hour classroom session, almost the whole gamit of activities would usually be covered. The idea was apparently not to exceed the pupils' interest span, but rather to keep moving from topic to topic before interest flagged. From fractions, in the class we observed, Rachel moved on to history, where the topic was ancient Babylonia, made relevant by the teacher as she stressed that the boys' families had their roots in that part of the world. Rachel talked, while the boys listened - or didn't -- but there was little disturbance. Micha joined that day's lesson in the middle of the history part, and seemed occupied for the rest of the history lecture with printing his name on the outside of his attendance folder. Ziv still seemed unable to sit without doing something; he got up and went to the window, feinted hits and blows to the twin sitting next to him, beat rhythms on his desk -- but all the while Ziv was the only one capable of carrying on a conversation with the teacher on the subject of the lesson.

In the middle of a review of the previous lesson in history, Moshe got up, went to the blackboard, drew an "L" carefully, and asked Rachel what it was called. She replied, "'El,' but we're not learning English now, so sit down and read with us." She asked Moshe to read aloud, in a book of at least fifth grade level, and he did so without difficulty. But when it came to answering a question without looking at the book, on the subject he'd just read, he couldn't do it. Neither could any of the other pupils except Ziv, although the teacher pointed to the exact paragraph in the book. The boys could read and re-read the paragraph, but were apparently unable to repeat its main idea without actually reading it.

Rachel brought the history lesson to a close at 9:30, after Ziv and Micha requested repeatedly that she stop so they could get on with their "work." The work consisted of macrame, which the boys enjoyed immensely; Rachel succumbed to pressure and let them spend their last half-hour (over a quarter of the lesson-time) working on the wall-hangings and flowerpot-holders they were creating with her help.

The class on the next highest level was taught by Yaffa, and also convened from 8 to 10 in the morning. The time schedule apparently had two "benefits": It insured that the brightest or most advanced pupils should be in the classroom first thing each morning, before they had a chance to get tired or distracted by other activities; and it gave these same pupils four uninterrupted hours in the workshops afterwards, allowing them to progress at maximum speed in the shops as well as in class. However, the other side of the coin must not be forgotten: the weakest pupils were in the classroom in the middle of the school day, which divided their workshop stint in two and made it necessary for them to make two transitions (work-class-work) rather than just one. We have no measures of the relative merits and demerits of these alternative time-tables, but intuitively it would seem that the stronger pupils may have been getting encouragement at the expense of the weaker.

Yaffa's "star" class had a total enrollment of eight, of whom two had been co-opted by the metalwork instructor for an outside job on the day on which the following observation took place.

Yaffa was teaching the class about Purim -- a lesson repeated annually in its season to every Israeli schoolchild from the first year of nursery school through the last year of elementary school, with increased sophistication as the years progress. The pupils were asked to recall Purim customs, which they did with considerable prompting from the teacher. As each custom was identified and described, a brief description was also written on the blackboard by Yaffa. Five customs were finally collected: "ta'anit Esther," costumes, reading the "megilla," "mishlo'ah manot," "s'udat hag." After discussing these and listing them with their descriptions, the pupils were set to copying the text off the blackboard into their notebooks, which all six pupils did in absolute silence.

The second half of the lesson was devoted to "Sha'at hevra," run by the counselor-adviser, Elana. Elana was a woman for whom the Israeli term "hevermanit" is most applicable -- a sharp, no-nonense woman of middle-age, with apparently limitless energy, considerable theoretical knowledge in counseling and quite deep understanding of each individual child at Orangedale, his background and his problems. The lesson she conducted during the hour of observation was a continuation of a project begun the previous week, consisting of self-ratings and peer-ratings on a list of qualities. The week before, the pupils had devised their own labels and described themselves. This time they were asked to use a prepared rating sheet, and to describe each other. The assignment became problematic when none of the three girls was willing to be paired with a boy, and in the end the problem was solved by having each of the three boys rate both of the other two, and likewise with the girls. Each quality had the options of "high, "medium," and "low." The rating sheets posed some difficulties for almost all of the pupils, and Elana explained some of the concepts twice and three times, but all of the pupils managed to complete the task before the hour was out. However, they did not complete the second half of the task, which was to see how their friends had rated them and to respond. Only one boy -- Gabi, one of the twins from carpentry -- got his turn to respond to his ratings.

Gabi was offended that Ami had written that he sometimes hits -- Gabi claimed that he never hits, although he may feint hitting in order to scare someone. Gabi was also upset because Ami said he's only happy sometimes -- Gabi maintained that he was always happy. Finally, Gabi objected to Ami's analysis that he was sometimes embarrassed, but his face reddened when Elana turned to the rest of the class for their opinions and all agreed that indeed he was sometimes embarrassed.

While the atmosphere during the Purim lesson with Yaffa had been subdued and quite attentive, one could sense much greater interest and involvement in Elana's lesson in self- and other-assessment. The exercise was loaded with potential for disruptions, but proceeded with utmost order, if at a much slower pace than Elana had hoped. Elana pointed out to the observer that only Rachel's top class and this class of Yaffa's got "sha'ot hevra" regularly; she described them as the "bogrim" (veterans), although this designation referred to chronological age rather than time at Miftan. She also distinguished between the two classes, describing Rachel's pupils as sharp but "neglected" while Yaffa's pupils were simply less bright.

The third teacher was Rina. She taught only one session daily, the 8-10 session; in the absence of a staff social worker, Rina had been assigned the job of finding truant kids in Orangedale and bringing them to Miftan, and she had been allocated two hours daily (10-12) to do this.

Rina's class was considerably more unruly than the other two we have described. Again, the disturbances were not violent, but rather trading, throwing candies, interrupting conversations, and other activities extraneous to the main lesson theme. The lesson we observed in Rina's class opened with a jockeying for seats: five boys clustered around the teacher's table with their chairs (college-type chairs with attached arms for desk use), while Viktor, denied space close enough to the teacher to suit him, sulked next to the door when Rina refused to let him occupy the absent Sami's place.

Sami finally appeared, wearing a new white satin skullcap. The tone which the teacher used in addressing Sami was one used to talk to the elderly, the deaf, or the retarded - a slight increase in volume, and a slight rise in pitch, which she was probably not even aware of. Rina tried to get Sami to describe his bar-mitzvah celebration, which had taken place the previous night. Sami's reluctance to elaborate on the party was heightened by Ezra's constant high-pitched calling: "Teacher! Teacher!" Ezra always had a question of his own to address to Rina, and his approach was to keep calling "Teacher" until he got her attention. Rina finally got Sami to tell her that the synagogue ritual would take place only the following Shabat, while the party had been held the previous night, complete with orchestra, singer, and belly dancer. The conversation turned to entertainment in general, and quickly turned again to a popular television show which had been broadcast the previous night. Ezra tried to interrupt for so long that, when Rina was finally worn down and called on him, he'd forgotten what it was he'd wanted to say.

Rina then asked the pupils if any of them had watched the news broadcast of the preceding night, and the pupils were urged into a brief discussion of current events. The lesson took place just after the talks at Camp David, and the discussion centered on the West Bank and Begin's apparent willingness to give up territory in order to achieve peace. Rina tried to get the boys to express their opinions on the worthwhileness of sacrificing territory for peace, and two of the boys managed to state their views that the Arabs were not to be trusted, because they had killed so many Jews in the past; Israel would be well-advised to hang onto the territory rather than relying on Arab promises.

Two of the boys lost interest in the conversation and started fidgeting with the pile of folders on the teacher's desk. The pile finally fell, and several loose pages scattered about on the floor. Rina chastised the boys: "It's a shame that you started an interesting conversation and there are some boys here who aren't very interested in it." But the spell had been well and truly broken, and the only option left to Rina was to proceed to another subject.

She finally got the attention of the pupils, and they began discussion the route they would be following on a class outing scheduled for the following week. David succeeded in tracing the exact route on the map with a pointer, much to the amazement of the teacher. And then bedlam broke out again, this time over candies which appeared from various boys' pockets. Rina restored order with difficulty, and reviewed former lessons on the various settlements and towns they would be visiting -- most of which were just names to these boys, who rarely ventured outside of Orangedale.

We observed Yaffa teaching her late-morning class on another occasion, but a description of that session would add little to this discussion. The general picture which emerges from these descriptions of classroom interaction is one of limited challenge, general control, and an atmosphere which may have been naivete and may have been respect -- since Metro and Orangedale had two different observers, it is somewhat difficult to make objective comparisons, but at least in the classroom the Orangedale pupils come across as less savvy, less street-wise, more maleable than their Metro counterparts.

The older boys at Orangedale seemed universally literate, and able to do basic arithmetic. Outside the classroom, the boys demonstrated ability to read the sports news in the daily newspaper, indicating that their literacy was also functional. The younger pupils showed a much larger range of abilities; to what extent this was due to selection and to what extent to maturity can only be judged retrospectively.

None of the pupils was in any sense devoted to learning; any pupil would have chosen to spend those two hours in the workshop, and did so whenever the opportunity arose. However, they seemed to accept the necessity for a minimum of "book-learning," and most showed benefit from their classroom experience.

CHAPTER 9

Staff Relations at Miftan Orangedale: The Key to Success?

In reading the observations of Miftan Metro, we are struck, inevitably, by the serious lack of rapport and mutual respect among staff members, which has an immeasurable but inevitable effect on staff-pupil relations and even on pupil-pupil interaction.

In this section I shall try to analyze the staff relations at Orangedale, in an attempt to locate foci which might be indicative of "success," defined as fulfillment of goals.

The principal of Orangedale, Zvi, was a very presentable looking man in his early to mid-fifties, originally from Eastern Europe, who immigrated to Israel just after the creation of the state. His original profession had been metal work; we do not know what course his career had taken over the years, but he had been involved in Miftanim for many years, and had been principal of Orangedale for eight years.

Our observations indicate that, at the time we were there, Zvi's personality influenced Orangedale indirectly rather than directly: his presence or absence could not be sensed instantly, the school functioned pretty much the same whether Zvi was there on a particular day or not, and he had apparently created a situation in which his minute-to-minute, day-to-day physical presence was no longer required. His secretary seemed intelligent and competent, and the metal work instructor, Shimshon, was generally his deputy and was also competent to handle administrative matters in Zvi's absence.

More problematic to analyze is the public-relations aspect of Zvi's job. Zvi had created an image of competence for himself and for his school in the eyes of his superiors in the Ministry, and preservation of this image required considerable glossing and manipulation of day-to-day facts. Thus he assessed his workshops as his most complimentary show-case, and his classrooms less complimentary; he encouraged visitors, including our observer, in the workshops, and discouraged strangers of any variety in the classroom, on the grounds that disturbing the classroom routine made the pupils "act up."

Zvi's concern with public relations, with the good reputation of Orangedale, was seen as extreme by several members of his staff, including the shoemaking instructor but particularly the classroom teachers. These staff members felt that the goals of the school were being eroded by pretending that no problems existed. Menashe, the shoemaking instructor, was an employee of the Ministry of Welfare, and his outspoken criticism of Zvi on occasion when he was really provoked could have been self-destructive; the teachers, on the other hand, were actually responsible to the Ministry of Education, and thus were freer to express their personal opinions without fear of recrimination.

As an example of these differences of opinion, let us look at one particular incident: the vandalism to Yaffa's car.

Yaffa drove a conspicuous car: a small, old-model car painted bright red. She parked it on the street near Miftan, separated from the school grounds by a row of apartment buildings and an unpaved service road. One day at noon, when she returned to her car from morning classes, she found a tire flat. She got Yisra'el to help her change the tire, and went to the garage to get the tire repaired; there they informed Yaffa that the tire had been cut with a knife.

When Yaffa returned to Miftan to report the event, she caught Zvi between two appointments -- he was just on his way back from an unpleasant meeting at which city council members had tried to double the fee pupils at Miftan paid daily for lunch, and was late to a meeting with the school psychologist. He put Yaffa off until the next day, refusing to discuss with her the "crime" or her "accusations."

At a staff meeting the next day, when the agenda held only procedural discussions (the electricity bill; how to celebrate Tu B'Shvat), Yaffa, with Ahuva's backing, insisted on bringing up the matter of the slashed tire. Yaffa, who had already decided that a certain troublemaker among the pupils was responsible -- he had been involved in vandalism of similar type in the past -- attacked Zvi on two points: first, that he had been rude to her (She quoted him as having said, "Do you expect me to take a tire out of my pocket?"), and secondly that the Miftan policy of pretending no problems exist had created an atmosphere where a child could continue carrying out acts of vandalism without fear of punishment. Rachel and Elana seemed to agree that if the school had not ignored several instances of air being let out of staff members' tires, the perpetrator of those deeds would not have gone on to bigger and better crimes.

Several solutions were proposed, while Zvi sat silent: to call in the police, to activate the other pupils and bring group pressure to bear on the culprit(s) -- and the general tenor of the discussion was that ignoring misdeeds in order to protect Miftan's reputation had been carried too far.

Finally Zvi took the floor. He made a plea for thoughtful consideration, rather than action in the heat of anger. He said he had interviewed the accused and his friend, and was sure beyond any doubt that they had not been involved. He accused the staff of trying to "lynch" a pupil on flimsy and inadequate evidence. He mentioned that truant youths who could have perpetrated such a crime were on the streets of Orangedale in large numbers. He said that Yaffa could park her car on the service road and avoid creating a temptation for strangers. He did not apologize for his behaviour of the preceding day.

Zvi asked the staff who, in their opinion, was competent to conduct an investigation and detect and punish the culprit, and everyone agreed that going to the police had proved useless in the past and would be useless in this case, and that even in the event that a boy is already on probation, no probation officer was capable of making a child come to Miftan or behave there. The teachers and instructors disagreed somewhat on the prognosis for the pupil accused of slashing the tire: the teachers were more inclined to write him off as hopeless, beyond rehabilitation, while the instructors, and especially Shimshon, felt that maybe the boy could be shocked or scared into reforming.

Zvi finally decreed that, at the regular Friday morning assembly the following Friday, a discussion would be held regarding the seriousness of what had happened, and the boys would be encouraged to voluteer to cover the cost of the tire from the studentbody treasury, until such time as the one responsible was found and asked to pay. He insisted that no one accuse the suspect, but that the discussion be conducted on a theoretical level: what responsibility do the pupils have when one of their number is suspected of having inflicted material damage on a member of the staff?

The course of events during the intervening three days was not observed or recorded, but our observer was present at the Friday assembly, which, far from being the climax of the affair, was rather very anti-climactic. Yaffa was not even present: she had an appointment with someone at home and left before the assembly started. The usual procedure of lighting Shabbat candles, saying "kiddush," and hearing a Bible story before the discussion was followed. Finally Zvi got up and spoke about the tire, how serious the event was, how the pupils must understand their responsibilities. The "Big Five" from metalwork, Ami, Gabi, Dudi, Micha, and Ziv, were all sitting together; almost as if on cue, Micha volunteered money from the pupils' treasury to reimburse Yaffa for the damage. And there the discussion ended. Apparently Shimshon had primed the boys on their "duty," witnesses had said they "saw" or "almost saw" or "thought they had seen" the accused with a knife near Yaffa's car, Zvi stuck to his story that without proof he could not lynch the boy, and the whole affair died down.

When our observer talked to Yaffa the following week, she also seemed to have gotten over some of her anger and hurt. The staff, as well as the pupils, still had no doubt that the boy accused of the vandalism did in fact do it, but they realized that accusing him formally would be useless, since the police would take no action. If there was little hope of reforming the boy while he remained at least technically enrolled in Miftan, they were sure that ostracizing him would cancel even that little hope. So the pupils' treasury paid Yaffa for a new tire and nothing changed.

The above event brings into relief some of the problems which were common to Miftan, as well as several problems specific to Orangedale. The permissive approach which hallmarked Miftan was neither universally endorsed by the staff nor able to accommodate deviant acts of this seriousness. In the end, only group pressure, whether that of the pupils or that of the staff, was the only tool available to discipline the pupils, and group pressure is a very unreliable tool. The lenience of the principal was seen by the rest of the staff, and especially by the teachers, as a matter less of philosophy than of public relations. The instructors were in a more ambiguous position even than the teachers, because they knew they were "supposed" to endorse the Miftan philosophy of acceptance of each pupil for what he is, while either through experience or by virtue of temperament they had come to the conclusion that their pupils demanded a strong hand rather than leniency.

It might by speculated that Zvi, Orangedale's principal, was also somewhat uneasy about the compromise he had accepted de facto between the "Miftan philosophy" and the necessity to keep his Miftan running smoothly. Certainly he did not welcome outsiders in the more problematic settings of Miftan: the classrooms and the staff meetings. Our observer asked for and was granted permission to attend a staff meeting, but as we have noted, the agenda at that meeting included only routine procedural matters. At the conclusion of the meeting, another meeting was called for two weeks hence, and the observer appeared at that meeting also. Three pupils were discussed; the format was that the principal or the workshop instructor involved with the pupil outlined the problem, the psychologist consulted his notes and recalled aloud what had been said about the same pupil the last time he was discussed, and the staff then generally deliberated about possible future steps in his treatment.

The first boy discussed at this meeting was the same one who had been accused of slashing Yaffa's car tires. There were no heated arguments this time; the metalwork instructor pointed out that the boy played truant regularly, and nothing seemed to interest him. The sewing instructor responded that maybe they hadn't tried hard enough. The psychologist, referring to his notes, said that the last time the boy had been mentioned at a staff meeting, he had been described as a quiet child who followed the lead of others. Someone suggested that he be referred to the comprehensive high school, but Zvi said that was an unrealistic idea. The truant officer proposed that he look into a "big brother" for the boy, from the ranks of university students who adopt younger boys as a way of supplementing their finances. Yaffa pointed out that the one thing which does interest the boy is animals; perhaps they might open a zoo-corner in Miftan and put him in charge of it. The suggestion was immediately vetoed by Zvi, who noted that even if someone could be found to take the responsibility for the zoo-corner on weekends and holidays -- for which Yaffa volunteered -- they would still be vulnerable to vandalism; another Miftan with an animal collection had been vandalized and the animals stolen or killed. At this point, the discussion went on to another child.

Several features of this meeting are worth contrasting with the staff discussion at Center City, to be presented in the following chapter. First and most important is the general course which this discussion, and all other discussions of pupils, seemed to take: the problem was presented, learned opinions were elicited from personnel and outside consultants, nothing concrete was decided, and the matter appeared to be left to drift. (That this may have been only an appearance must be recognized; we do not know the reasons for including certain pupils rather than others on the staff meeting agenda, and we have no measure of the place of staff decisions in the actual procedures of Orangedale's Miftan.) Secondly, it should be noted that the psychologist, here as in all other cases which we heard him discuss, saw his role solely as record-keeper: he made notes of what was said about the pupil and read back what had been said on previous occasions. And thirdly, at the conclusion of the staff meeting from which this excerpt was taken, and which proceeded in much the same manner to discuss two more pupils, the principal took our observer aside and chastised her for attending the meeting without specific invitation. He described the action as "taking advantage of his good nature," and made it clear that future admission would be by invitation only. The impression we formed was that Orangedale's principal in fact shared with us an uneasy feeling that too close scrutiny of his Miftan might reveal embarrassing cracks and rifts in the machinery.

We are brought back to a basic and repeatedly asked question: to what extent does Miftan succeed in its goal of rehabilitating youth who have been rejected by the general educational system? And, insofar as Miftan does succeed, to what extent is this success a function of the basic Miftan philosophy? On the basis of one event at Orangedale, we might speculate that Miftan can succeed under certain very specific circumstances; as we shall see again in a brief summary discussion of Miftan Center City, one of these circumstances seems to be careful selection of pupils to eliminate the incorrigibles, the hard-core delinquents. And Miftan can succeed only where most of the staff are very competent, and interact with pupils in a clear and unambiguous or even authoritarian manner. Both of these reservations dilute somewhat the claims of the system.

CHAPTER 10

Center City: "Miftan" or School?

The third Miftan at which our observations were conducted was the Center City Miftan, described by a Ministry of Welfare supervisor in the following terms:

> "Miftan in (Center City) is considered outwardly successful .... It looks so well cared for, shining, orderly, clear -- everything runs like clockwork. But our feeling in this service is that something is missing. Maybe it's just one more educational setting, one more school. But it doesn't fulfill the task it was designed for. It is too rigid. The emphasis is on the general, on the system, on the group, and not on each individual and what happens to him. The children for whom the universalistic educational system doesn't work, cannot fit into (Center City) Miftan either."

In the course of our observations, we recalled this description repeatedly, and looked especially for features at Center City which could test its validity.

This chapter will take us on a brief round of Center City workshops and classrooms, and focus particularly on the universalistic-particularistic dimension in analyzing the institution and its functioning, assessing the 'treatment' vs. 'judgment' axis alluded to by the Ministry official in the above quote, and Center City's place on it. We shall call upon comparative data from Metro and Orangedale where these are relevant.

The Metalwork Shop

The following is a report of one visit to the metalwork shop at Center City, on a winter's morning. The day was cold but clear, and at 8:00 a.m., a group of youngsters had congregated on the paved area between the metalwork shop and the carpentry shop. Although the yard area included a large neat and well-kept lawn, about equal in total size to the paved area, the pupils kept off of the grass. On another occasion we witnessed the principal's admonition to several boys, delivered out of his back office window, to "get off the grass" during a recess break.

The principal arrived at about 8:05, asked a boy to ring the bell by hand, and the sewing instructor went into the yard with the roll sheet in hand. The roll-call procedure was a daily occurrence at Center City. At the sound of the bell, the children began forming into lines, using hand-on-shoulder to measure proper distance between themselves; the sewing instructor quietened them (although the noise level was low to begin with). The children lined up according to the workshop they attended, and the instructor called off their names, sometimes by last name, sometimes by first. She marked present 34 of the 57 children on the list. (We ascertained later that most of the remaining names belonged to moshav children, whose bus did not arrive generally until 8:15 a.m. Non-moshav children who arrived after roll-call were forbidden to enter their classrooms or workshops without reporting first to the principal's office. Roll was then re-checked by instructors or teachers during the course of the morning.) Following roll-call, Mr. Zahavi, the principal, spoke briefly to the assembled pupils; he commented that the boys who had had their hair cut looked particularly nice, and he hoped that the others would follow suit; and he announced the day's agenda, which contained no surprises or deviations from the usual. (Announcements regarding absence of an instructor or teacher, presence of a new pupil, or a change in daily routine, where pertinent, were also made at the daily roll-call.)

The children dispersed to their respective workshops or classrooms, and we joined the metalworkers.

The boys in Yiftach's workshop changed into workclothes, and Yiftach also donned a workcoat and work shoes. The pupils seemed to know what to do, following up on the previous day's activities, and very little discussion or noise accompanied the beginning of the work day. Yiftach told one boy, who was working on a piece of metal with a hole in the center, to smooth and round the outside corners of the metal. He proceeded to three boys standing around a large frame, meant to be a work table for the metal shop in the new school building then under construction. First Yiftach measured the table drawers, and pointed out to the boys that they were not of uniform size, although he did not ask that they take any action to correct this. He then told them what steps were to be taken, listing several things which they were to do, including measuring; no one made notes, but the boys said they had understood.

Yiftach proceeded next to two boys who were working on a metal mailbox in the shape of a house. They discussed the door and lock for the mailbox. One of the boys said there'd been a mistake made, and Yiftach commented: "Yes, but we won't discuss it with a guest present." The boys working on the table drawers interrupted to say that the saw blade didn't cut, addressing Yiftach as "HaMadrich" ("the instructor"). Yiftach went to get two new saw blades and gave them to the table-makers, who changed the blades in their two saws and then came to Yiftach to have them checked before use.

At a quiet moment when no one was waiting for his help, Yiftach commented to the observer, who asked about discipline at Miftan, "Our kids here are pretty primitive. Without discipline it's impossible to get anywhere. The new kids at the start of the year are 'pahad' (frightening). But they learn to behave."

The boys went on working; three were chewing gum, which was frowned upon by the principal; none were talking or goofing off. Yiftach returned to the boys constructing the mailbox; they had meanwhile managed to get the key hole the right size. Yiftach explained to the observer that they were making a model, in order to find out what the problems were; afterwards each boy would make one to take home. Another boy came to Yiftach carrying a large key-shaped object with hooks to hang things from. Yiftach told him to attach a length of chain to the key and lacquer it. He then turned to the observer, and said that all the boys also made keys like that. He showed the observer his corner display, behind his desk, which contained various ornaments made of waste metal. One was a sculpture put together of square off-cuts of square tubing of the kind used in table legs. It had been painted here and there with various colours of paint. Another was a bird, made of solder wiped off of the soldering iron. He explained that creations like those show the boys the possibilities of waste metal, and develop their artistic sense.

A gate or fence, consisting of two horizontal pieces of metal and six verticals, with curved decorative pieces separating the verticals, lay on the workshop floor awaiting a coat of rustproof paint. The observer asked whom it was for, and Yiftach said it was "an order." When asked a further question, "An outside order or a family (staff) order?", he replied, "family."

The two-hour morning session went on uneventfully, with the only noise coming from machinery or from Yiftach's quiet instruction. It is difficult to assess to what degree the behaviour was a performance for the benefit of the observer, but other visits to the metal shop during the course of the year indicated that the session we have described here was not atypical. (It is instructive to contrast the behaviour here, even assuming its "special" character in honour of a guest, with that at Metro or Orangedale, where a guest was generally honoured with showing off and other antics.) Eleven boys were present in Yiftach's workshop that morning, working in single, two-man, or three-man projects. Yiftach knew what each boy was doing, and managed to supervise each project on a pretty continuous basis. He never sat down or left the workshop, nor did he try to do any paper work or construction work of his own.

A visit to Yiftach's workshop on a Friday morning presented the observer with a somewhat different sight. First of all, the boys were not wearing work clothes. Friday was devoted to cleaning up, which was done in street clothes, and to paper work and summation of the week. The routine did not differ significantly from that already described for Orangedale, except that the boys waiting for work assignments or already finished engaged in less play than those at Orangedale. A unique feature of Center City Miftan was the school library, which functioned on Friday mornings; boys were sent worktable by worktable to change library books, and when they returned and had time to waste, they tended to turn to their books for diversion. (Whether they actually read the books or not is difficult to assess, although Yiftach told the observer that a good book got recommended by one boy to another and circulated and was actually read by all the boys.)

One clue to the order in Yiftach's workshop may have lain in the original table assignments. Apparently Yiftach assigned four boys to each table, at the start of the year, carefully mixing veterans and newcomers; each table was allowed to elect its own leader, and the trend was to elect the most veteran of the table occupants. The head monitor, who was also in charge of safety regulations, was appointed by Yiftach.

Yiftach was very proud of the accomplishments of his workshop. As he explained to the observer, boys came to the metal shop not knowing what a meter was, what a centimeter was. He said he had to be their theoretical teacher as well as their metalwork instructor; and because new boys kept coming in throughout the year, he had to teach each one individually. But he found his job very rewarding, when he looked at his third-year pupils, doing work on a professional level.

As we point out in the concluding chapter, the observers at Center City often had an impression of a theatrical element, an unreal element, in the face Center City presented to outsiders. Yiftach's job satisfaction may have been exaggerated; the accomplishments of his pupils may have been magnified in his report. However, the fact that his boys worked quietly and apparently industriously in the presence of the observer still sets Center City off from Orangedale and Metro, and the individual attention Yiftach devoted to the boys does not support the Ministry supervisor's generalizations about Center City, quoted at the start of this chapter.

The Carpentry Workshop

The description above regarding the metal workshops holds almost uniformly for the carpentry workshop as well. Aharon, the instructor, was a heavy-set bearded man in middle age, with kipa on his head, a good sense of humour and, generally, a twinkle in his eye. He obviously enjoyed what he was doing, although he too had almost no time of his own while in the workshop. The dozen or so boys in his workshop at any one work period worked on individual and paired projects, including furniture for the almost-completed new Miftan building (bookcases, tabletops, etc.). They also made small objects to be taken home: a medicine chest, and even a guitar. The woodwork we saw indicated that measuring was taught at a pretty accurate level, hinges and formica trim were applied by the boys, and, with Aharon's help, work of fairly high calibre was turned out.

One of the sessions we observed in Aharon's workshop was about mid-way through the school year. The boys worked individually that morning, returning to Aharon after completing each stage of their respective jobs in order to get instructions for the next stage. Since no work was being done in groups, Aharon had to keep track of 22 different jobs in progress simultaneously; he seemed quite able to do this. Aharon moved around through the shop, going to the boy in his queue whose turn had come; the rest of the queue would follow after him, waiting their turns. Some boys got verbal instructions; others were shown by demonstration;

still others had the task actually started for them by Aharon. His patience seemed unbounding; although we witnessed joking and sarcasm in his out-of-class conversations with the instructor Yiftach, he rarely used sarcasm in speaking with the pupils. An attempted queue-jump got the response, "Now I'm with him. Wait, and I'll get to you." Another boy was questioned on his method of marking a piece of wood: "Pay attention," said Aharon; "You marked it right but you don't know why," and Aharon explained the way the marking should be done and the reasons for this, interspersing his explanation from time to time with "is that clear?"

Aharon explained construction of a letter holder to one of the boys: "Now, listen. This is white wood. For this piece." He then went on: "The thickness you do by machine. The corner, by hand. Now, three pieces of twenty-two." Reuven wrote dimensions on the sketch in his hand. "Right -- three pieces of twenty-two. You'll need one piece how big?" The boy and Reuven agreed on 67 or 68 centimeters. "Is that clear? So it will be easy to work with. And afterwards one piece of 40 by 18. Since we don't have a width of 18, we'll take a piece of the thicker wood and we'll saw it in half. Did you understand? So you'll leave that, and we'll saw it from thick wood. These, the two top ones, you saw from the board, the white one which we brought you. Is that clear?" There was no rush; Aharon tried to confirm at each pause that the boy indeed understood what he was trying to communicate.

The afternoon hobby circles at Center City got off to a late start, the year in which our observations were made there. Apparently Aharon got into the habit of staying after lunch once or twice a week, to help boys who wanted to finish things or just to pass the time. Even after the sports instructor started taking the boys to play football, Aharon continued to stay and work from time to time. The city youngsters were more flexible in their choice of afternoon activities than were the moshav children; the bus service discriminated against the moshav children, who participated in afternoon activities only twice a week, on Mondays and Thursdays.

In addition to several morning visits to Aharon's carpentry workshop, we visited the shop once in the early afternoon. Three boys were present. One was beginning a table for his room, using wood which he had brought to Miftan from home. He had taken the table top outdoors to burn decorative trim onto it, using a blowtorch. Two others were working with Aharon on a large side-board, to which formica trim was being glued. It was for a "customer," although we did not determine whether the customer was a staff member or outsider. (The paucity of outside customers for Miftan products has been mentioned already in our discussion of Orangedale.)

The observer asked Aharon several technical questions about the work in progress and about general procedure. Meanwhile, Aharon instructed the boy making a table how to mark the places to drill holes and attach the top to the legs and frame. The boy went back to his work, but returned immediately to ask what size drill bit to use; he kept at Aharon with his question until Aharon stopped conversing with the observer to answer him.

Aharon then returned to the boys gluing formica, and discovered that they had glued short edges of formica before cutting and fitting the longer edges. Aharon appeared a bit irritated, but aloud merely cautioned the boys that cutting the longer edges would be a very exacting task under the circumstances.

In between instruction, Aharon busied himself with arranging the tool room and putting materials in order. He stopped work and closed up after 3 o'clock, although Yiftach had been the second-to-last staff member to go home, at around 2 o'clock.

Our impression of Aharon, as of Yiftach, was generally positive. The boys in his care apparently acquired some skill and good work habits, while producing tangible items in which they could take pride. Aharon repeatedly stressed to the boys that the discipline of his workshop would stand them in good stead later on the job. When one boy objected to working with a certain machine because the dust made it hard for him to breathe, Aharon admonished him: "We'll give you a kerchief to cover your mouth. If you go to a plant and work next to that machine all the time, will you tell the owner you aren't going to do it?" The boy tried to say that a real job was different, but Aharon kept on, "It's the same thing. Now try to finish that." Aharon obviously enjoyed his work and got satisfaction from it; one deduced this both from his general demeanour in the workshop and from the fact that he stayed extra hours at work of his own accord.

The Sewing Workshop

Recruiting girls to Miftan, generally problematic because girls make less obvious trouble in regular school and are therefore less apt to be branded uneducable, was not so problematic at Center City Miftan. Mr. Zahavi, the principal at Center City, managed to fill his girls' workshop by recruiting moshav girls; over 50% of the girls at Center City came from the moshavim in the area.

Rachel, Center City's sewing instructor, coped with the demanding nature of dressmaking instruction by alternating dressmaking with enamel jewellry work. We observed the sewing instruction on several occasions. As with metalwork and carpentry, so with sewing, the noise level in the workshop was significantly lower than that at Metro or Orangedale. In fact, in the sewing workshop at Center City it was almost entirely onesided; the only voice which came through on our tapes was that of the instructor. The girls did in fact converse with one another, but in virtual whispers. When a voice was raised, Rachel would caution the girl, "You're talking too much."

Rachel tended to stay at her table more than the men instructors did, and either gave instructions from there or called the girls to come to her. If she saw a girl doing nothing, she quickly asked; "Do you need help? Why are you resting?" The production was both clothes the girls made for themselves, paying only for the material (which was purchased wholesale), and small children's items made to sell (aprons, skirts, embroidered shirts). Although minor repairs were done on a fee basis, most of the orders for repairs were from staff or from the girls themselves. Rachel used enamel work as a "pacifier," because it was easier and more quickly rewarding than sewing and a good thing to turn to when sewing didn't go well.

Rachel told the observer that it usually took a week at the beginning of the school year to get the girls to work quietly; it seemed to be an unstated axiom at Center City that good work was done quietly. Indeed, meal times at Center City were almost silent as well, as a matter of policy.

The Classrooms

During the year of our observations at Center City Miftan, two of the three teachers went on three-month maternity leave, in addition to the ordinary disruptions caused by military reserve duty for men staff members. However, even with staff changes, the classrooms seemed to function in an organized manner, and although Center City enrollment was higher than at either of the other two Miftanim we studied, while the teaching staff was the same size, this fact did not seem to account for slower learning or more disturbance than we found at Metro or Orangedale. On the contrary: Yaffa's class at Orangedale played games for at least the last half hour of their two-hour sessions; Rachel at Orangedale taught her pupils macrame as part of the class period; while at Center City the entire learning period was devoted to conventional learning activities.

It is also worth pointing out that we were never discouraged from visiting classrooms at Center City Miftan. With few exceptions pupils did not "show off" in our honour, and we also did not get the impression that they made a special effort to behave well for us. They seemed either indifferent to visitors or quite accustomed to them.

As an example of part of one classroom session, presided over by a substitute teacher who replaced one of the regular staff on maternity leave, we might look at a dictation lesson about a third through the school year. Six pupils were present: three boys and three girls. The teacher told the class to read the second part of the story "My Horse," and passed out books. The books were covered in paper, with the title on them in coloured pencil. She asked the observer if she was the supervisor, to which the observer replied that she was just a guest from the university. She then told the observer that she was "just" the substitute. The children, meanwhile, read in silence. After a short while, the teacher passed out pencils, erasers, and notebooks; the notebooks were covered with plastic covers and belonged to the pupils individually, while the pencils were from a common stock on her desk. She reminded the pupils to read only the second part of the story.

One of the girls finished reading first, and announced aloud that she had finished. She took up her pencil and opened her notebook, waiting. The teacher went to the blackboard and wrote the title and author of the story, and then the word "dictation," underlined. By this time, all the children had taken up their pencils and were ready to write. The teacher went around the room to check that everyone was indeed ready; the girl who had finished first complained that her pencil was no good, and the teacher exchanged it for another, meanwhile saying that all the pencils were good and that the girl shouldn't press down so hard.

Another boy entered the class, and sat down at the front of the room. The teacher gave him a notebook, pencil, and eraser; he asked for a ruler also, and was given a white plastic triangle. He did not get the reader.

The teacher said to close books, and began dictating slowly, while the children wrote as she dictated. She pronounced each word clearly, and stopped and repeated when a child said "Pardon?" or indicated the need for help. She also inserted punctuation marks where they appeared in the text, although some punctuation marks were inadvertently omitted. From time to time a child would repeat a word or mumble something unintelligible, and the teacher would admonish: "Sh!", or "Don't repeat after me." Once one of the girls tried to second-guess the teacher, inserting the following word before the teacher dictated it, to which the teacher said: "Quiet! I know you (girls) know, but wait until I say." As the dictation proceeded, the perfect order got a bit frayed, with one girl trying to get the teacher to slow down, and others questioning words aloud in mid-sentence.

The total exercise consisted of about 125 words. Immediately upon completing the dictation, the teacher said "That's all. Close your notebooks." One girls said, "I just want to fix something." To another, the teacher said, "Close your notebook; if you aren't checking, close it."

The teacher went over to the boy who had arrived late, leaned over his desk and read his notebook. She made marks in red pen, talking quietly to him. The other children waited; one rocked her chair backward, inciting a complaint from the girl behind her; a boy feinted writing on the table with the wrong end of his pencil. The teacher meanwhile finished with the first boy, and he asked if he could take the book from her desk; she said yes. Two of the girls closed their notebooks at this point, while another went on erasing and correcting.

The light-blue speaker box on the wall behind the teacher's desk began to squawk. We heard the principal's voice: "Teacher?

Mira?" The teacher, without moving, said, "Yes?" "Is everything okay?" Mira replied, "Everything is okay." The noise ceased.

One of the girls asked the boy whose notebook was corrected second, "How much did you get?" He answered "Also 'very good' and also 'very nice.'" He went on looking at his notebook. Meanwhile Mira finished with the third boy, who announced aloud that he got "almost good" (a grade between 'good' and 'fair'). The noise of a truck horn was heard, and the late arriver ran out of the classroom, while the others informed the teacher that he was monitor and the truck with the lunch food had arrived.

After correcting all of the notebooks, the teacher returned to the textbook, instructing the pupils to read the two questions on a certain page and answer them in their notebooks. When several pupils tried to answer at once, she said, "Sh! Raise your hands." When everyone understood the task, she put them to work, and the work was done in complete silence.

Although this class was conducted by a substitute teacher, it was under control at all times, and no extraneous activities were allowed to interfere with conventional teaching and learning. In contrast to Orangedale, here no one looked out of the window, drew pictures, or was permitted to do anything other than the assigned task.

We note from this account of a class segment that the teaching tools and methods do not seem innovative but rather quite traditional.

However, none of the children posed a discipline problem; all seemed to grasp the tasks and to try to do well. The pupils were graded, just as they might be in the most orthodox school class, and compared grades much as school pupils anywhere do. The differences between this scene and that in a regular school would seem to be the extraordinarily small class size here, and the relatively low academic level: we estimated that during this lesson this class, one of the more advanced of those at Center City Miftan, was doing work usually done in a third or fourth grade class.

One of the regular features of the classroom program at Center City was a weekly newspaper session, using the easy-Hebrew "Sha'ar." In one of the more advanced classes, Shoshana, Center City Miftan's most experienced teacher, used the newspaper articles as a tool in vocabulary-building. Some articles were read by Shoshana and then discussed by the class; others were read aloud by one or several of the pupils. An article on eggs, on the home-living page of the paper, led to a discussion of the distinction between "solid" and "liquid" and an explanation of the center of gravity and why hard-boiled eggs would "spin" while raw eggs would not. Another article, on atomic bombs dropped on Japan to end World War II, was not understood by some of the pupils, but others showed familiarity with the basic story and interest in atomic energy and related topics.

From about mid-year, classroom activities at Center City were expanded to include work from prepared worksheets. The sheets were part of a system by Dr. Feuerstein of the Hadassah-Wizo-Canada Research Institute in Jerusalem. The philosophy behind the Feuerstein system is that learning ability can be expanded and developed almost without limit. The sheets teach skills of sorting, comparison and contrast, focus and background, etc., which can and theoretically do get carried over into other tasks. Training in using the worksheets is given in special vacation-time courses for teachers in special education, and apparently for Miftan teachers as well.

The pupils at Center City Miftan seemed to enjoy the worksheets, and perked up when the brown folders in which they were kept were removed from the cupboards during lessons. They worked in different styles; some went ahead of the class, confident that they understood the task and were able to do it, while others, less secure, kept turning to the teacher to get confirmation that they had answered a question correctly. Along with sorting and classifying, or whatever the task at hand happened to be, the teacher emphasized vocabulary-building, correcting "this" or "that thing" by naming it: "a hexagon," "an intersection."

Although the substitute teachers had more difficulty than the regular teachers in keeping down interruptions and extraneous noise, the general level of participation in the classrooms was higher than we found at Orangedale. As we point out in our concluding pages and in the chapter on recruitment to Center City, the process by which pupils were recruited to Center City may have pre-selected the ones most able to benefit from the educational process it offered. It would be unwarranted to conclude that Center City's teachers were generally "better" on the basis of pupil attentiveness. Nevertheless, the fact that the pupils were able to work on a task or a series of tasks for a full two-hour period, while generally remaining seated and quiet, must be noted and taken into consideration in summarizing our observations of Center City Miftan.

Another point which should be made regarding classroom teachers and their pupils at Center City is that the teachers had a certain respect for at least some of their pupils' abilities, a fact that may have functioned as a self-fulfilling prophecy. The teacher with the longest experience at Center City observed to us:

> "We have intelligent children here -- just because they have language problems, or because something went wrong at some stage at school -- someone didn't look after them. We have a good level here -- some of the pupils are at a high level. They understand what's in the newspapers -- what's going on -- they listen to the news. I don't know why people knock them. Some can really learn. But there are, of course, some who aren't built for learning."

The teachers use this assessment of their pupils to justify the effort they expend on them; a pupil who "isn't built for learning" is something of a waste of time, while "intelligent children" are well worth educating. In return, the pupils benefit from the high assessment of their abilities and repay it with attention and cooperation which would stand comparison with any "regular school" we have observed.

Summary

If we use as our measuring stick the guidelines set down by the Ministry official and listed in the last chapter on the Miftan in Metro:

> "'Rehabilitation through socialization'; i.e., seeing each boy as an individual unit; building his self-image through personalized instruction, personal attention, and discussion; paying careful attention to him in contexts outside that of the school itself (the home and neighbourhood)."

or Metro principal's "Principles of Treatment," outlined in the same chapter, we can assess both Orangedale and Center City as higher in general compliance than Metro. Orangedale's success in treating the whole boy, in listening to his problems and communicating with other staff members, was due in no small part to the principal and to the teaching (rather than instructing) staff. The teachers were trained in educational psychology and attuned to the meanings of expression and behaviour. The instructors, on the other hand, while not shirking their authority or responsibility (in contrast to the picture we have from Metro), tended to be less interested in understanding the individual and more concerned that outward behaviour should conform to certain minimum standards. In this sense, ironically, Orangedale's workshops -- the unique feature of the Miftan system and the feature designed to distinguish it from a "school" -- came closest in operational terms to the universalistic educational approach.

Center City's Miftan seemed to operate more as an integrated unit than did either Metro or Orangedale. The forceful personality and almost constant presence of Mr. Zahavi (the only Miftan staff member, in all three Miftanim, whom pupils did not address by first name) left its stamp on the whole staff. Mr. Zahavi was an intense, ambitious man with the chip on his shoulder found often among Oriental Jews who feel their personal qualities are undervalued because of their origins. He exerted authority among both staff and pupils to a degree not seen in the other Miftanim. He even had his office connected by intercom to all of the workshops and classrooms at Miftan, which permitted him to listen in to a class or to communicate with staff without leaving his desk. We observed this intercom in use on several occasions: in some cases, the reason was a simple request (such as asking an instructor for some record), while in others it was to keep tabs on order by listening to the noise level in a classroom or checking with a teacher that everything was under control.

In comparing Miftan's graduates with other Center City youth of comparable background, one city-employed street-gang worker said, "They're different. Just the fact of their having belonged somewhere makes them different." He went on, "It's almost impossible to get a 16- or 17-year-old to take a job where he only gets paid at the end of the month. He wants his money immediately. But a kid who's been to Miftan will take a regular job; he'll wait to be paid. It's because the Miftan kid takes pride in the work he's doing -- he's been trained that way, while the other kid only works for the money he gets."

And the staff seemed content with the atmosphere at Center City as well. One of the substitute teachers, who enjoyed her stay at Center City so much that she did not want to leave, said, "The atmosphere is good. The staff is good. The relation between the principal and the teachers is good. Even the pupils -- relatively -- compared to where I used to teach. I like it here."

Teachers and instructors had a rapport not found in either of the other Miftanim, and constant communication between principal and staff and among the staff tended to center as often on individual pupils as on other topics. The staff tried to get to know the "whole child" as is revealed in this discussion which took place at a staff meeting just before mid-year:

Mr. Zahavi: Rina Yarkon. (To her classroom teacher) Bella, read what you wrote about Rina Yarkon.

Bella: Rina Yarkon was in the 'Bar-Am' group (one of the middle-level groups in Hebrew). She transferred from the Golan group, on a higher level. There she didn't make progress -- she was very problematic from the beginning of the year, couldn't sit still, had trouble with the material and with the kids who sat near her. After she transferred to Bar-Am, the situation improved. She shows a desire to learn, and also ability -- she's one of the best in the group today.

Mr. Zahavi: There's also the other side of the coin -- there's what Rachel (the sewing instructor) wrote a few months ago: 'a nice girl who takes advantage of the good impression she makes. Doesn't sit in her place even five minutes. Always walks around and finds diversion. Hits friends, swears, says bad things, each time to a different person. When she is spoken to, she apologizes and promises to be good, but goes on as before.' I have many notes here, of her being sent to me. Here is the evaluation of her sixth grade teacher (in former school): 'Her grasp in learning very poor; grasp of very simple material only, writes with difficulty, reads with difficulty. Her vocabulary is very sparse, she can do addition, subtraction, multiplication, with difficulty. Socially a rejected child. Bothers others both physically and verbally.' Now here's a second evaluation by Rachel, four months later: 'There has been an improvement in Rina's behaviour, after many conversations with her and with her mother. At work she is progressing nicely, when she's in the mood.' And in class: 'In studies she tries hard, is progressing with the material, tries to help pupils who are having trouble. But she chatters without noticing.'

Bella: That's in arithmetic.

Mr. Zahavi: Yes, of course. In arithmetic. If we compare Rina's position today with what it was in the early days, there's a gigantic difference. She had a way of defending herself: to disturb, to swear, and then to immediately deny it: 'Not I,' and point to someone else. Now that happens less. At home, their situation is pretty good. She is spoiled. The mother has been here -- she mentioned the improvement at home and was pleased, and asked that we

> behave with patience toward her, but there's been a considerable improvement. That's what we have about Rina Yarkon.

We note that there was contact with the home, although it is not clear here whether home visits were made or whether the mother was summoned or came of her own accord to Miftan. Certainly during the period of our observations, instructors did make home visits in several cases, and Mr. Zahavi also visited homes of pupils.

Neither Orangedale nor Center City had a social worker during the time we conducted our observations. Orangedale, as we have already noted, coped with this lack by assigning a regular teacher to circulate in town, in homes and on the streets, trying to locate children of the appropriate ages who were not in a learning framework. Home visits at Orangedale were made by the sewing instructor and the shoemaking instructor, rarely by the carpentry instructor (since both of the carpentry instructors were new, fewer such demands were made on them), and by two of the three classroom teachers -- Rachel, the teacher of the most advanced pupils, claimed that she could not leave her small daughter alone at home. The metal work instructor at Orangedale also refused to make home visits as a matter of principle, although we did not ascertain the reason for this. However, the Center City staff apparently all took turns making home visits when they felt that these were necessary, and Mr. Zahavi explained his lack of a social worker in the following terms:

Mr. Zahavi: I want a social worker who can make home visits; who can sit down and talk to a child who is obviously unhappy and having problems. I don't want one who comes in here and tries to teach me the a-b-c of Miftan.

A Ministry of Welfare official told us that Mr. Zahavi had had several social workers. In the case of the last one, "he thought she carried tales to us." The tension between Mr. Zahavi and the Ministry was long-standing, and centered around two issues: the issue of Center City's operating philosophy -- "To what extent has Zahavi created a framework that is purely a school framework?" And the political arena: "Zahavi was, for many years, concerned and involved with politics. I do not condone being so very involved in political affairs." In the light of these remarks which the official made about Mr. Zahavi, it is not entirely impossible that a Ministry-appointed social worker would in fact have been encouraged to report back to the Ministry on Mr. Zahavi's activities.

In this chapter, we set out to examine the Ministry of Welfare contention that Center City Miftan was "just one more school." We looked at the workshops, the classrooms, a staff discussion, and the long-standing conflict between Center City's principal and the Ministry. In general, we could find little support for the contention, and in fact concluded that Center City was as good a Miftan as either of the others, and probably better than both, using Ministry criteria for this assessment.

Our final remarks should include some mention of Center City Miftan's unique population: of the three Miftanim we studied, Center City was the only one which made a policy of enrolling moshav children as well as urban children. As we have already mentioned, this policy gave Mr. Zahavi full enrollment, which the other Miftanim had difficulty in achieving, and permitted him rights of refusal of potentially difficult candidates on the grounds that his rolls were already full.

The moshav children at Center City were, for probably purely procedural reasons, somewhat deprived relatively with regard to Miftan activities: their bus tended to arrive too late for the morning roll-call, which meant that they missed the daily formal announcements; three afternoons a week the transportation arrangements precluded their attending afternoon activities at Miftan; and on at least one occasion during the year we observed Center City, the moshav children were excluded from a school outing ostensibly because of the logistic difficulties of getting them home afterwards, but also because the transportation ordered for the outing would accommodate only two-thirds of the Miftan enrollment and no other "fair" way was seen of selecting the participants. In a sense, then, Mr. Zahavi was ahead of the other principals on two counts: he had full enrollment, and this was achieved at marginal expense to him in terms of financial or energy outlay.

It would be interesting to study the impact of the Miftan education on the families and communities of the moshav pupils, in order to determine to what extent Mr. Zahavi's gains were also shared by the pupils and their families. It is unlikely that the gains were all one-sided. However, this question will have to remain unanswered until further research is undertaken.

CHAPTER 11

Pressures and Glossing: The Way Out of a Bureaucratic Bind

The Orangedale Miftan was considered by Ministry of Welfare officials to be "one of the best": it combined a generally full enrollment (until the year in which our observations were made) with a low staff turnover and an apparent adherence to the "social work" philosophy (as contrasted with an "education" philosophy) which was Miftan's raison d'etre.

Center City and Metro both deviated from the Orangedale standard: Center City because it was too close to a "school" in style, and Metro because its personnel problems made any functioning problematic.

We were interested in learning how Orangedale maintained its positive image, and what specific features of Center City and Metro kept them from achieving success within the Miftan system.

The first point of distinction which struck our observers as well as the psychologists concerned with testing and other objective measures of the various Miftanim was the relative openness of the institutions: Metro was most open to scrutiny, not necessarily as a matter of policy but probably because so much staff energy was dissipated in staff problems that none was left for public relations. The chapters on Metro illustrate quite vividly why Metro failed, and we need not go into a re-analysis here.

The Center City Miftan, which we have discussed only briefly so far, went through the motions of welcoming outsiders, but one frequently had the feeling of witnessing a performance, even when visits were unannounced ahead of time. The pupils at Center City seemed most pliable, "educable" perhaps, of the three Miftanim. The instructors at Center City were uniformly the most in control, and seemed to come closest to following the Miftan policy of emphasizing concrete production of a varied nature in teaching shop skills. In the classrooms, however, Center City Miftan suffered personnel turnover (especially due to maternity leaves of two teachers during our year of observation) which disrupted classes and interfered with pupil progress. Yet Center City's principal put no limitations on classroom observation, and seemed confident that our observers would appreciate his limitations and evaluate his program positively.

The feeling of theater at Center City Miftan was provided by the principal's flowery polite manner of speaking, by his ostentatious display of trophies, awards and letters of commendation, and by the physical appearance of Miftan: manicured lawn, cleanly swept paths, slogans and signs profusely visible in classrooms, workshops and corridors. This theatrical aspect of Center City Miftan may have been the cause of some administrative disapproval at the Ministry. However, it seemed to our observers to be less a result of conscious policy or ideological decisions on the part of the principal than a matter of personal style.

In discussions with Ministry officials, our observers were struck with the impression that Center City Miftan fell short of Miftan ideals because it was "too much like a school." Indeed, we found features of Center City which resembled standard schools and which we did not encounter at Metro or Orangedale: a regular morning outdoor rollcall and announcement time; compulsory weekly changing of library books; even a plant-wide intercom system which let the principal listen to and communicate with each class or shop individually. However, the achievements of the Center City pupils, both in the shops and in the classroom and in both substantive and behavioural areas, seemed to surpass those at Orangedale and certainly far outclassed Metro's record although there are other possible contributing factors here.

Orangedale's physical appearance was both better and worse than Center City's: but worse because less emphasis was placed on maintaining the grounds and garden in tidiness. One felt that a pupil could relax more at Orangedale, without fear of tramping down the grass or messing up the path. However, by the end of the year in which our observations were made, Orangedale looked distinctly unaesthetic: overgrown lawn, unpruned rosebushes and a profusion of weeds among the flowers.

Orangedale was far less open to scrutiny than the other two Miftanim: visits to workshops were tolerated, although it was stressed that one must take into consideration that the pupils always "acted up" in honour of the observer. Visits to classrooms were discouraged; this was true not just for our observers but for any outsiders, including Ministry of Education employees (supervisors, counselors, etc.), and was explained as necessary because the pupils were so easily distracted that the presence of an observer by definition distorted the atmosphere to the extent that any observation would be rendered invalid. And outside presence at staff meetings, encouraged by the principal at Center City, was limited at Orangedale to meetings at which the agenda included only procedural matters. (The discussion of the slashing of Yaffa's car tire was unanticipated at the meeting to which our observer had been invited, and her uninvited presence at a subsequent staff meeting was specifically criticized.)

In discussions with Orangedale's staff, we had the feeling that facts were embellished or distorted to preserve the image of success at any cost. "Production" was thus defined to include not just outside orders but staff orders; enrollment was stretched to include enrolled but non-attending children as well as attending; pupils' drug-taking was whispered about among the staff, but never admitted to us aloud; afternoon hobby circles and the July summer program were said to be universally attended when in fact 50% attendance would have been a more accurate count; job placement, reputed to be handled by the staff, was just as likely to be arranged ad hoc by the pupil or his family without regard for the Miftan ideology.

One of the most important but least remarked staff members of almost any institution, and certainly of Miftan, is the secretary. It would be an oversight if we, too, were to neglect this important role.

The secretary of Miftan Metro has already been discussed at some length; it was clear that he obstructed rather than facilitated, that he was party to many of the staff altercations, and that his functioning as a secretary as one generally understands that role was conspicuously poor.

The secretary at Orangedale was Metro's diametrical opposite in almost every way. Her role could better be defined as "administrative assistant to the principal"; she participated in staff meetings, was a "significant other" in the socialization of the Orangedale pupils, and actually kept the institution functioning during the principal's numerous absences. She stuck to her office, remained polite even when harrassed, and clearly was seen -- by herself and by the others on the staff -- as an integral part of Orangedale and its image.

Where the secretaries at Metro and Orangedale were both personalities in their own rights -- Metro's to the detriment and Orangedale's to the advantage of the institution - the secretary at Center City was not one but three different people in the course of one school year, and had in essence neither a personality nor a role. For various reasons, Mr. Zahavi, Center City's principal, did not seem to be able to get or keep a properly functioning secretary. He started the year with someone new; two months later she had left and a young and indifferent girl had the job; and about midway through the year yet a third secretary took over, quite efficient and serious but handicapped by the backlog of work and the immense amount she had to learn with no one to teach her.

We may speculate about the interesting coincidence: the image of each of these three Miftanim in the eyes of the Ministry personnel and supervisors was congruent with the personality and functioning of its secretary. In two cases the secretary not only reflected his own image but served as a buffer between the central administration and the principal. Metro was split by staff disputes; the secretary was a disputatious person. Orangedale was efficient and well-run; the secretary was an efficient and capable person. Center City was rigid and non-permissive; in the absence of continuity in the job of secretary, only the principal's unbuffered personality was felt in the higher echelons.

If Orangedale's reputation as a model Miftan, "one of the best," was built in part on glossings of the above kind, what in fact can be concluded with regard to the Miftan system and its place in rehabilitation and prevention of sociopathology? It may be helpful to look at Miftan in historical perspective for an answer to this question.

The Miftan system was set up to deal with pupils of compulsory school age who were not capable of functioning in a universalistic framework. In 1948, when Miftanim were first established, these "deviant" pupils were primarily new immigrant children who were illiterate in Hebrew, upset by the profound changes which had occurred in their lives, too young and unsettled to go to work and unable to sit and learn in a regular school classroom.

As immigration waned, and as the educational system in Israel developed and expanded to include more "special frameworks" of different kinds, more and more of the youth who might have been eligible for Miftanim were retained in the regular school system. Miftan's population remained stable or even declined, despite a growing population. And the children who eventually reached Miftan tended to be relatively more intractable and to have gone through more, and more discouraging, school experiences than their predecessors.

When a social problem is dealt with on a small-scale innovative basis, the endeavour often succeeds. However, as the problem becomes universally recognized, and more and more frameworks are created to deal with it, the innovator or pioneer framework begins to be faced with an insurmountable challenge: maintaining its original record of success while getting increasingly difficult cases to treat. This process holds in almost all treatment settings, and certainly seems valid regarding Miftanim. Reports from staff and from referring agencies indicate that pupils pass through increasingly greater numbers of educational settings before reaching Miftan; that they are tougher, harder to handle, more incorrigible, "harder core" than in earlier years, although the Miftan system has changed to deal with the new kind of pupil.

Orangedale tried, during the year we observed it, to find children on the streets and absorb them. The experiment was a failure. The following year there was even talk of Orangedale Miftan merging with the special school for moderately retarded children into one educational institution, although we are informed that Orangedale remains separate and has increased enrollment since this research was carried out.

Center City Miftan increased its waning enrollment by appealing to surrounding moshavim for pupils. The pay-off was two-fold: it kept enrollment up giving the principal leeway to turn away children who looked like behaviour problems (boys on probation, for instance), and it balanced the street-wise and school-worn city children with relatively docile and naive farm children, who were far easier to handle and contributed to the orderly and quiet overall atmosphere at Center City. Metro, with its staff problems and inner-city site, as well as its political problems, was closed following our observations, and remains so at the time of writing.

We would conclude that the population still exists which is not being served by regular educational frameworks, despite their proliferation since 1948; but that the nature of that population has changed over the years, and Miftan is no longer able to fulfill the function for which it was set up. In the early 1950's, a boy who immigrated to Israel in his early teens and found it intolerable to sit and learn to read and write in school could be taught the rudiments of a trade and some good work habits, at Miftan, and sent out to a job with a status at least commensurate with his family's and his own expectations. In the late 1970's, a boy whose parents had not recovered from the trauma of immigration, who spent six years being shuffled between special school frameworks without finding one which answered his needs, and whose idea of success was to make a lot of money, dress well, and have a good time, with minimum exertion on his part, neither fit the Miftan image nor had his expectations met within the Miftan framework.

CHAPTER 12

Conclusions

This final chapter includes conclusions from both sections of the research. As already noted, the uniqueness of this research, methodologically, lies in the fact that two different research methods were used to evaluate the Miftanim: the anthropological method, and the method utilizing educational research tools. Both methods dealt with the same research population: a study of three Miftanim (called "Orangedale," "Metro" and "Center City," in the anthropological research and A, B, and D in the educational research), with two other Miftanim studied by the educational research method only (Miftanim C and E). Thus a total of five Miftanim were studied, in an attempt to include a wide variety of such institutions. It may be that each Miftan, taken alone, is not "typical" and perhaps does not even represent the "system" in its entirety. Nonetheless, it seems that each Miftan raises issues and questions, the relevance of which for other Miftanim must be judged by administrators and educators involved in the system.

It is clear that when research of this type is undertaken, the contractor hopes that the research findings will be positive. It is also clear that the researchers may come up with findings which could be interpreted as critical. In our case, we have presented both positive and critical findings.

Positive Findings

1. The uniqueness of the Miftan system lies in its small proportions. The entire system includes less than 2,000 youths -- of almost 40,000 in various streams of vocational training and schooling. Each Miftan contains no more than 70 pupils. Inevitably, there is a feeling of "family" -- both among pupils and staff in the individual Miftan, and among the directorate of the system. We can contrast this with the educational system run by the Ministry of Education, with a total population of some 900,000. The expectation, generally borne out in our research, is that the Miftan system implies a totally different pattern of contact, communication, reporting and supervision, than one finds in the ordinary school. It means that there is more individual treatment in Miftan; and part of our philosophy in education is that the more deprived the background of the child, the more important it is that he get individual treatment. It also means that the distance between headquarters and the client -- the child -- is shorter than in a larger system.

However, as we point out in our more critical remarks, the Miftan system is not reaping all of the potential benefits which should derive from its small size and good communication. The bureaucracy and division of labour along professional lines have exceeded expectations, and it seems important to us to examine this discrepancy in greater detail.

2. A second positive feature of Miftan, according to the findings of the educational research, is the fact that Miftan reaches weaker pupils than do alternative educational frameworks (such as "slow" classes, "directed" classes, youth centers, progressive classes, etc.). This finding indicates that Miftan has not veered from its original aim, to provide education for the weakest, neediest pupils, who have not been absorbed into any other framework. While most systems tend, as time passes, to raise their level of selection, Miftan has not done this. The findings show that Miftan pupils were weaker than pupils in alternative frameworks (even prior to reaching Miftan) in several areas:

(a) In behavioural variables: concentration span, absenteeism, clean and tidy appearance (as evaluated by their elementary school teachers).

(b) In the grades given by the elementary schools (at the completion of 6 or 8 grades) in the subjects of Hebrew, Bible, written expression and even in workshop subjects.

(c) In the grades earned in tests of reading comprehension and arithmetic, administered by the researchers at the start of the research.

These findings indicate that the selection of Miftan pupils is correct and in accordance with the goals of the institution.

3. A third positive finding is that, in general, the pupils in Miftan progress in basic skills (on the basis of reading comprehension and arithmetic tests) at the same rate as do pupils in comparable educational frameworks. This attests to a certain achievement on the part of Miftan, because the starting point of the Miftan pupil was lower, as we noted above. In other words, the achievement lies in the fact that the initial disadvantage of the Miftan at the start of the year did not increase during the year.

Critique

The critical findings regarding the Miftanim will be presented separately for the two research approaches, because the two research teams often studied different aspects and areas using different research tools. It must be stressed, however, that the general findings of the two approaches were similar and complementary.

Critical Findings of the Educational Research

In order to understand the critical findings and remarks of the educational research, the methodology which was adopted must first be clearly understood. In this research, we focused on the pupils over a specified period and with regard to different aspects of their pupilhood: basic achievements in learning, self-image, locus of control, aims and expectations for the future, attitudes toward Miftan in its different roles, and termination of enrollment.

From the description and evaluation of the pupils in five Miftanim, conclusions were reached regarding the functioning of these Miftanim. These findings and conclusions refer to the goals of Miftan and to the discrepancy existing between the ideology of Miftan and its actual application. The following are the principal findings:

- One of the most conspicuous findings of the research was the heterogeneity of the population of Miftan pupils. We found a considerable difference among the Miftanim, and among the pupils within each Miftan. It is our feeling that these differences should be exploited: where stronger pupils do exist, a higher level of training should be offered. Pupils whose need for warmth and individual care does not seem overriding -- who could cope with the demands of job-oriented training more relevant to the outside job market -- should be given that challenge within the Miftan framework. This is not the case today.

Rather, today we have a situation where Miftan keeps pupils generally until age 15, teaches them some rudiments of reading and arithmetic, some workshop experience, and sends them out into the world, with the expectation that they will now be "good citizens," "productive workers," although they are ill-equipped by their training to fulfill this expectation. Some of these youths are certainly capable of benefitting from better, more practical, and more professional training, and should be given the opportunity to sit for the professional grading examinations of the Ministry of Labour (passed by only three Miftan graduates in our study).

It is worth noting that the pupils themselves saw the main emphasis of Miftan as teaching a trade. Further, graduates of Miftan which did not emphasize vocational training, were critical of this fact when they entered the job market.

- There is a wide discrepancy between the ideology of Miftan and the practical constraints of its everyday operations. The expressed aim of Miftan is to improve the socialization of the pupil by creating a warm and comfortable educational climate. This goal was not achieved in practice in any of the Miftanim studied.

Some of the Miftanim (A (Orangedale), B (Metro), and C) tended toward over-permissiveness, expressed in excessive freedom for pupils, which some pupils used to their own ends, or alternatively in a "warm" environment lacking any incentives for achievement. Other Miftanim (two of those studied) created a closed, exacting "school-like" framework which did not suit the ideology of the Miftan administration.

It appears that those Miftanim adopting the "liberal" ideology of the administration were less efficient in achieving their goals:

a) The rate of drop-out of "newcomers" and of "veterans" was higher;

b) Progress in learning was relatively less;

c) Graduates were more critical of the vocational training they had received;

d) These Miftanim were characterized by a lack of change, for better or for worse, in the indices and tests administered, with the exception of Miftan B (Metro), in which changes for the worse occurred in principal areas.

In those Miftanim (D (Centre City) and E) with a stricter, more "school"-like framework, significant changes did indeed occur in several areas, some for the better and some for the worse.

Both Miftanim, and especially Miftan D, paid a certain "price" for their strict approach. The research findings indicate that this "price" may have been expressed in a lower self-image of the pupils and in a relatively lower assessment of their attitude toward studies and toward Miftan. However, they did show improvement in areas that the research team considered important.

In general it must be noted that the profile of each Miftan was unique. However, among the five Miftanim included in this study, no one model was found to illustrate that the ideology of the administration was actually put into practice "in the field." It actually appeared that those Miftanim operating counter to the ideology were more efficient.

Critical Findings of the Anthropological Research

The critical conclusions of the anthropological research support those of the educational research. In addition, the anthropological research found tendencies which could be viewed as deeper structural problems, at least insofar as could be concluded from the study of three Miftanim. "Metro" was selected as an example of lack of success and of erosion in Miftan. However, since Metro formally was not unique, its problems have relevance for the other Miftanim studied (and for other Miftanim in the system).

The critique will be presented here with regard to three areas, interacting and interdependent:

1. The administration of the Miftan system;
2. The staff of Miftan;
3. The pupils.

1. The Administration of the Miftan System:

The administration of the Miftan system promulgated what may be termed a "soft ideology" of rehabilitation, and encased this within a fairly rigid bureaucratic superstructure. This inbuilt discrepancy between the ideal aims of the system and the practical constraints of its everyday operations opened the way for the subversion of rehabilitation through the bureaucratization of roles and other related phenomena discussed in the body of this report. This suggests that the implementation of a "soft ideology" of rehabilitation requires a highly competent staff and a flexible division of labour. Together, these attributes adapt bureaucratic qualities to their own requirements, instead of the opposite. However, as the extreme case of Miftan "Metro" shows clearly, the complex division of authority and responsibility among government agencies with a say in Miftanim is mirrored in the division of labour within the institution. As well, over the years in Metro, the administration did not succeed in terminating the employment of incompetent, unqualified or indifferent staff members, regardless of the monetary cost, thereby indirectly acquiescing in the expression of such negative qualities by these staff members, and exposing numerous pupils to them.*

The administration should consider carefully whether it does not need more comprehensive advice in the sociology of social relationships and formal organizations, with regard to staff and pupils, in addition to the emphasis given to the personality dynamics of individual pupils, or to individual pupils *qua* individual pupils in concert.

2. The Staff of Miftan:

On paper the Miftan system looked to be an optimal set-up for its goals of rehabilitation, in terms of staff "expertise," staff/pupil ratios, after-school activities, neighbourhood follow-ups, and an emphasis on what we have termed "the whole pupil." In practice the picture was soemwhat different in the three Miftanim studied by the anthropological team.

Staff members were permitted to develop over-specialized conceptions of their tasks, leaving each encapsulated in his particularistic job with little interchangeability of roles among staff members. In part, this may have resulted from the hiring of persons more in terms of their apparent formal qualifications (or, in previous times, despite their lack of any qualifications) than in terms of their personal capacities. This situation effectively reduced the capabilities of the staff to deal flexibly yet firmly with particular pupils.

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* There is evidence that attempts on the part of the administration to terminate the employment of several members of the "Metro" staff, or to close that Miftan, were met by opposition on the part of bureaucrats in the (then) Ministry of Welfare. However, this is beyond the scope of the present report.

It would be possible to improve this situation in one of two ways: One suggestion would be to incorporate such tasks as educational adviser, social worker, and that of follow-up work within the criteria for holding a job at Miftan. This would mean that a teacher would not get extra pay for serving as adviser, and that home visits done after school hours would not entitle a staff member to overtime pay. Another, more radical but more efficient, suggestion would be to erase the boundaries between job definitions in Miftan entirely, and to require each staff member to engage actively in all aspects of the educational process of Miftan. During the period of our observations in "Orangedale" and at "Center City," the staff did not include a social worker. The principal at "Center City" made the point explicitly that a social worker who did not endorse his own philosophy and could not operate within its constraints was of no use to him. It may well be that his point is worth pondering.

Because of over-specialization and rigid job definitions, staff members could readily develop a bureaucratized definition of their tasks, which encouraged them to "pass the buck" and to refuse to relate to situations and problems "outside of their jurisdiction," even when the problems were presented in an apparently pressing way. We saw this quite clearly in the material on "Metro." It was also evident in the tire-slashing incident at "Orangedale."

There was little coordination and exchange of information among staff members at Miftan "Metro." Together with the two points above, this effectively prevented any staff member from having as complete as possible information about a pupil, his relationsips, and his difficulties. This was not true at "Orangedale" or at "Center City," however; at both of the latter Miftanim, exchange of information was quite extensive, although it did not often or necessarily provide the staff with answers to pupils' difficulties.

In the same vein, liaison with other agencies also involved with the pupils and their families was often haphazard and indifferent. However, the onus for this rests as much with these other agencies, and their definitions of territory and divisions of labour, as it does with the staff at Miftan. Perhaps because of bureaucratic overspecialization, "Metro" staff, for example, were loath to enter areas of territory and specialization which were seen as the domain of other agencies (regardless of the job which needed to be done).

Authority in the school was diffused, while its use was inconsistent, particularly at Miftan "Metro." This followed from the first two above, which encouraged staff members to define authority as beyond their jurisdiction, to pass the buck, to ignore the problem, or, at "Metro," to use as heavy a hand as they wished without fear of admonishment. Rather than working according to a flexible plan of action, concerned staff members reacted to virtually any and all problems in an ad hoc fashion which often lacked consistency, comprehensiveness, and compassion. This made mockery of the claims of the system to intervene in favour of rehabilitation. The situation at "Orangedale" and at "Center City" was far less chaotic, although at "Orangedale" problems did tend to be ignored when they would tarnish the Miftan image or when the principal was not around. The scale tilted far less toward heavy-handedness, however, and recourse to physical force was rare both at "Orangedale" and at "Center City."

In effect, Miftan "Metro" did become a holding pen for youngsters rather than a framework for changing the perceptions and knowledge of its charges. It denied and subverted its own official functions, and defaulted on its obligations. Instead of creating a comprehensive environment for relating to the many facets of these youngsters, the staff chopped up the pupils to fit their parts more neatly into their own job definitions. The result was what we have termed the "compartmentalization of the whole boy," and unequivocal subversion of what the Miftan system wanted to stand for, and which should have distinguished it from the parallel educational frameworks.

3. The Pupils:

Our ethnography on Miftan began by delineating interaction and relationships among the pupils of "Metro," and then expanded to include contacts between staff members and pupils, and finally to relationships among staff members. It is clear that contacts among the pupils should be seen in this wider context. Moreover, we would maintain that the extent of these particular patterns of relationships among pupils probably developed proportional to the extent that a vacuum was created by the disjunctions, contradictions, and weakness in staff organization, and it is in this that there are lessons for other Miftanim.

There was a great gap between criteria of status among the pupils and the ideas of the Miftan system, while staff behaviour inadvertantly contributed to the emergence of such criteria, which in turn subverted the official aims of the Miftan. Thus the status system of the pupils was largely their own creation, in accordance with criteria which they valued outside of the school. Although the school context was intended to modify or alter such criteria, instead it came to dominate pupil relationships within the school. While this observation comes through most clearly from the material on "Metro," the problem was not completely absent in other Miftanim. The "big five" at "Orangedale" were careful to horse around in class and to avoid being "too good" in the workshop; the implication was clear that too close adherence to the Miftan model was seen as the road to social ostracism.

As the result of the above, there is clear evidence that newcomers to "Metro" were socialized into valuing the out-of-school criteria of status within the school. This ensured transmission of these criteria from one cohort of pupils to another, to the continuing detriment of the school as an agency of rehabilitation. This process warrants checking in other Miftanim.

These criteria of status, and the clusters of pupils they helped to coalesce, subverted the "soft" goals of the school behaviour in learning situations, work habits, desired behaviour more generally, and etiquette.

As we have emphasized, the Metro staff in large measure abdicated their rights to authority, supervision, and intervention. Moreover, the staff delegated authority to, and supported, the leaders of the status system of the pupils, at Orangedale as well as at Metro. These leaders could then use this support to exercise power for their own ends, in terms of criteria they considered significant. Again, this continued to contribute to the subversion of the official aims of Miftan.

As noted in the ethnographic report on Metro, the staff also accepted to some extent the definitions of pupil-leaders regarding criteria of who was a proper pupil. Staff members at times scapegoated more studious pupils, in line with the attitudes of the leaders, or left such pupils, as social isolates, to fend for themselves, again subverting the official goals of the Miftan program. In turn this reduced the recourse that "losers," as we have termed them, or social isolates, had to staff members. We advise that this be checked out elsewhere.

In the case of "Metro," the formation of two major clusters of social relationships, those of the veterans and the newcomers, with extensive ties between them, created in effect the moral and social orders of the school for pupils. Such formations nullified the psychologistic assumptions of some staff members that the difficulties of the pupil could be treated as if the individual were the sole relevant unit of concern and attention.

In the case of "Metro," we agree that the physical plant of the school facilitated the formation of both the attitudes and behaviour of staff members and the moral and social orders of the pupils. However, primary responsibility cannot be assigned to the physical set-up of the school; rather, the responsibility must be vested in the administration and staff, who were unable to create a social reality within "Metro" which differed substantially in quality from that experienced by the pupils outside of "Metro." It was therefore the administration and staff who permitted the development and expression of the social formations and attitudes within "Metro" which we described in detail.

It is our common conclusion that the Miftan system must make a difficult choice: it must either provide adequate professional training for the pupil who is capable of benefitting from such training, in cooperation with other vocational frameworks serving similar populations, or it must strive to achieve its goals of "total rehabilitation," ensuring that the resources within Miftan are applied in unison to this end. At the time of our study, neither of these alternatives was being realized.